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ABSTRACT

Five original research papers by faculty of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Southern Illinois at Carbondale are presented. The titles and authors are as follows: "Measuring the Instructional Sensitivity of ESL (English as a Second Language) Reading Comprehension Items" (Sheila R. Brutten, John T. Mouw, and Kyle Perkins); "'The Boy for the Cookie': Some Evidence for the Non-violation of the Case Filter in Child Second Language Acquisition" (Usha Lakshmanan); "Covert, Undetected, and Uncorrected: Apparently Fossilized Structures in the English Interlanguage of a Native Speaker of German" (Ben Novak); "'Right-Through, Rings, and Taws': Marbles Pitching Terminology in Trinidad and Tobago" (Lise Winer and Hans E. A. Boos); and "A Systems Approach to Curriculum Innovation in Intensive English Programs" (Richard Young). (JP)

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Measuring the Instructional Sensitivity of ESL Reading Comprehension Items

Sheila R. Brutten,
John T. Mouw,
and Kyle Perkins

An analysis of variance procedure was used to estimate the instructional sensitivity of items in three English as a second language reading comprehension tests. The number of completed lessons was the factor investigated. No significant effect was noted in the results. Four reasons for the lack of significance are discussed: (a) an inadequate quantity of direct instruction, (b) the students' lack of linguistic readiness to accommodate instruction, (c) their lack of metacognition, and (d) their preoccupation with decoding. Academic engagement time and a set of instructional sensitivity indices are suggested for a future research program.

Introduction

This paper reports the results of a case study whose purpose was to estimate the instructional sensitivity of items in three English as a second language (ESL) reading comprehension tests. Instructional sensitivity is a test item construct which is supposed to reflect the role played by instruction in affecting examinee performances on individual test items. Haladyna and Roid (1981) defined instructional sensitivity as "the tendency for a test item to vary in difficulty as a function of instruction" (p. 40).

The basic paradigm employed in this research was to give similar tasks to readers in the form of a final comprehensive reading comprehension test and to look for behavioral correlates that reflected the differences in time on task as measured by differences in content covered or "opportunity to learn" (Carroll, 1963). The assumption is that if behavioral differences can be attributed to differences in time on task, then those differences will be likely candidates for subsequent true-experimental design research in which those variables are systematically manipulated to ascertain whether or not instruction has been effective.

The hypothesis for this research was that the more time readers spend on a task, the better their performance on that task will be. Content covered has been shown to be a robust index of effective instruction because it tends to be positively related to achievement gain (Anderson, Evertson, & Brophy, 1979; Barr, 1973–1974; Harris & Serwer, 1966; Rosenshine & Stevens, 1984).

Rosenshine and Stevens reviewed a number of correlational and experimental studies and reported correlations ranging from .2 to .7 between content covered and achievement gained. They noted that "it may be difficult to obtain higher correlations because there is not a perfect correspondence between the content given in a class and the content measured on the test" (p. 774).

Method

Subjects

This research was conducted at the Center for English as a Second Language at Southern Illinois University. Data were collected from three proficiency levels: 2, 3, and 4. At the Center, placement of students into four full-time proficiency levels (1, 2, 3, and 4) is determined by the results of an Institutional TOEFL test which is administered to new students at the beginning of each term. Students who score 374 or lower are placed into level 1, students who score between 375 and 429 are placed into level 2, those who score between 430 and 469 are placed into level 3, and those who score between 470 and 524 are placed into level 4. If students score between 500 and 524, they are given additional testing (a composition and an oral interview) to determine whether they are proficient enough for full- or part-time university study or whether they need additional full- or part-time English study at the Center.

The distribution of subjects by native languages was the following. For level 2: Arabic, 7; Malaysian, 2; Spanish, 2; Thai, 1. For level 3: Arabic, 3; Spanish, 2; Malaysian, 4; Thai, 1; Farsi, 1; Japanese, 3; French, 1; Korean, 1; Senegalese, 1. For level 4: Arabic, 8; Spanish, 4; Malaysian, 4; Thai, 1; Farsi, 1; Japanese, 3; Korean, 3; Indonesian, 1; Chinese, 1.

Materials

All subjects were enrolled in eight-week intensive English classes. The reading classes met five days per week for fifty minutes per day. Each proficiency level was broken down into two sections. The level 2 sections used Lewis (1971), *Reading for Adults,* as the text plus supplementary exercises prepared by the staff; level 3 sections used Zukowski/Faust, (1983), *Between the Lines,* plus supplementary material; one section of level 4 used Long (1980), *Reading English for Academic Study*; the other section used Cowan (1982), *Reading for College-Bound ESL Students.*

During the term of instruction each instructor maintained a log of the number of instructional units completed for each reading skill. An instructional unit is defined for this research as a lesson or an exercise which provided instruction and practice on a particular reading skill. For each section of each level these data were coded and entered as a variable in the statistical analyses.

At the conclusion of the term subjects took a reading comprehension final examination. Each proficiency level had its own final examination. Each question was analyzed to determine what skill it was designed to assess.

Analysis

Because pre- and post-test data were not available for this research, we elected to conduct an analysis of variance study to estimate the instructional sensitivity of the items from the three different reading tests. The data from each proficiency level were analyzed separately. In the three separate analyses we were concerned with the following effects: (a) the number of completed lessons, to estimate instructional sensitivity; (b) skills, to estimate the differential difficulty of the various skills; and (c) the interaction of the number of completed lessons by the skills, to estimate differential instructional sensitivity across skills. We utilized the analysis of variance procedure because we had only post-comprehension item responses (i.e., no pre- and post-test data) and because there is a robust tradition of using analysis of variance methods to estimate variability in items and scores (e.g., Haggard, 1958; Lewy, 1973; Rakow, Airasian, & Madaus, 1978; Wiley & Bock, 1967).

Design

As was mentioned in the introduction, this research activity was a case study; therefore, several aspects should be emphasized. First, the subjects were grouped into different proficiency levels according to a natural assembly process of TOEFL placement results (i.e., there was no randomization of class membership). Second, no systematic variation in the treatment factor (i.e., the number of lessons completed) was incorporated into the study because the text and the entailed syllabi used at the Center are set by the Center's curriculum committee, and the syllabi have a highly structured quality. We are aware that experimenters prototypically manipulate variables and observe changes in performance, but to preserve the ecological validity of the reading classroom this is neither desirable nor possible given that one's clientele are paying tuition and fees. In sum, many interesting problems in reading cannot be studied with true experimental designs for these reasons. For example, one cannot deliberately withhold instruction and practice on identifying the main idea of a passage from one section of a class while giving the other section twenty units of instruction and practice in that skill. And neither should one induce reading debility in order to study the effectiveness of various methods of remediation. Third, a constant environment was provided for all data elicitation because all tests were given during the last week under timed examination conditions—constant, standardized testing procedures, therefore, reduced random variability of error.

TABLE 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Standard Errors of Measurement, and Estimates of Reliability

Level	No. of Subjects	No. of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error of Measurement	Estimate of Reliability
2	12	25	19.98	4.19	1.78	.82
3	17	25	18.47	4.21	1.88	.80
4	25	25	15.68	4.37	2.14	.76

Results and Discussion

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and standard errors of measurement for the three tests; Table 2 presents the numbers of completed lessons for the groups; and Table 3 presents the analysis of variance summary table. Table 2 lists the number of completed lessons for the skills that were assessed by the tests. Other skills were taught in the three classes, but those skills were not assessed by the final examination and therefore they were not entered in the Table 2 summary.

Table 3 indicates no significant effect for the number of completed lessons for proficiency level 2 ($p = .2471$) and for proficiency level 3 ($p = .5469$). For proficiency level 4 the factor approaches but does not quite reach significance ($p = .0547$). Also there was no significant interaction for the number of completed lessons by difficulty of skills: level 2 ($p = .5030$), level 3 ($p = .5957$), level 4 ($p = .4432$). In sum, the analysis of variance results indicated no significant effect for instruction.

There are several possible explanations for these insignificant results. First, these students may not have had enough instruction in a given reading skill in order for that instruction to have made an impact on their acquisition or mastery of that skill, given that their interim second language competencies were located at points on a continuum beginning with the mother tongue and ending with the target language. These students were exposed to a maximum of 33.33 hours of reading comprehension instruction (fifty minutes per day by five days by eight weeks). This is undoubtedly a liberal estimate given the fact that the actual engagement time was greatly reduced by the exchange of pleasantries, getting everyone settled, administrative announcements, etc.

Second, given the developmental nature of these students' competencies, they may not have been linguistically prepared to utilize the instruction they received in the most effective fashion. Corder (1978) noted that it is only possible to teach someone new information if that person is conceptually ready to accommodate it. In an earlier paper Corder (1967) distinguished input and intake:

TABLE 2: The Number of Lessons Completed

Proficiency Level	Word Meaning (in Context)	Literal Comprehension	Inference (Single String)	Inference (Multiple Strings)	Salients	Main Ideas
2A	0	14	3	3	0	0
2B	0	11	4	1	0	0
3A	6	1	0	2	0	6
3B	11	8	0	3	0	5
4A	7	3	0	5	6	2
4B	8	2	0	2	6	1

> The simple fact of presenting a linguistic form to a learner does not necessarily qualify it for the status of input, for the reason that input is "what goes in," not what is available for going in, and we may reasonably suppose that it is the learner who controls this input, or more properly his intake. (p. 165)

Our results indicate that there was a substantial difference between what was available for "going in" and what "went in."

Third, these students may not have acquired the requisite metacognition which would allow them to recognize their reading comprehension had failed on a particular skill and to select the necessary "fix-up" strategy to correct that deficiency. Brown, Armbruster, and Baker (1986) have defined metacognition as the "understanding of any cognitive process" (p. 49), and metacognition entails the learners' control of their own actions, their monitoring of their state of learning, their ability to plan strategies, and their knowledge of strategies for learning.

Fourth, since these students were still developing their reading competence, they probably tended to focus on reading as a decoding, "bottom-up" process and largely ignored reading as a meaning-getting, "top-down," or encoding process. Reading is a complex, simultaneous interaction of bottom-up and top-down processing, and an overreliance on bottom-up processing at the expense of top-down processing probably has a negating influence on reading comprehension instruction.

Directions for Future Research

Although our results for this study were insignificant, and run counter to our intuitions and the current zeitgeist, we intend to freshen our endeavors to estimate instructional sensitivity indices in future studies. Our future research will utilize student engagement, an index of effective instruction. Fisher et al. (1978) noted

TABLE 3: Analysis of Variance Summary Table

Proficiency Level	df	F-value	p
Source of variation: Difficulty of skills			
2	3	1.74	.1590
3	3	1.35	.2587
4	4	3.72	.0053*
Source of variation: Number of completed lessons			
2	1	1.35	.2471
3	1	0.36	.5469
4	1	3.71	.0547
Source of variation: Interaction of the number of completed lessons by the difficulty of skills			
2	2	0.69	.5030
3	2	0.52	.5957
4	3	0.90	.4432

* $p < .01$

that academically-engaged minutes of direct instruction in reading (systematic, structured instruction with immediate corrective feedback during student practice) is the most precise measure of student engagement. The academically-engaged minutes are calculated by multiplying the allocated time by the engagement rate. Thus, if the engagement rate was 53 percent, and the allocated time was 50 minutes per day, then the engaged minutes were 27 minutes per day. Rosenshine and Stevens (1984) reviewed the existing correlational studies on student engagement and found that the correlations between student engagement rate and reading gain ranged from .30 to .44. Student engagement will be used as a factor in our future analysis of variance studies.

Our future research will also utilize a set of item indices which require pre- and post-instruction data. There is an obvious, inherent danger in using the same test twice because students taking the test for a second time usually do better than those students taking it for the first time (Campbell & Stanley, 1966). However, that is a rival explanation for apparent gain that must be dealt with.

Some promising instructional sensitivity indices for reading research include (a) the pre-to-post difference index (PPDI) introduced by Cox and Vargas (1966); (b) the combined-samples (instructed and uninstructed examinees) point-biserial correlation (COMPBI) introduced by Haladyna (1974); (c) the normalized

difference in item response theory item difficulty estimates for the uninstructed and instructed samples; and (d) three indices based on the Bayes' theorem (Bayes, 1763) which were proposed in Haladyna and Roid (1981).

PPDI is the difference in item difficulty (determined as the proportion of correct responses) observed when an item is presented to uninstructed examinees, and then after they have been instructed. According to Roid and Haladyna (1982),

> this index is the simple difference between the difficulty observed in the post-instruction group and the difficulty observed in the pre-instruction group. It therefore ranges from –1.00 to +1.00, with indexes of zero or lower quite rare. In most instructional settings, this index typically ranges from .10 to .60. (pp. 218-219)

The point-biserial correlation is a common procedure for computing item discriminability with point-biserial correlations of .25 and above being acceptable discrimination indices. Haladyna (1974) recommended combining uninstructed and instructed samples for the point-biserial correlation, because more test-score variance is available with the combined samples, and COMPBI is less affected by range restriction. Haladyna noted that the COMPBI seems to function as a type of instructional sensitivity index.

The Bayes' theorem relates conditional and marginal probabilities. Haladyna and Roid (1981) proposed three instructional sensitivity indices based on the Bayes' theorem, and they require as input pre- and post-instruction data. The three Bayesian indices are: B1, the probability that an examinee knows the content material given that the correct response was selected; B2, the probability that an examinee does not know the content material given that the incorrect response was selected; and B3, the probability that a correct decision will be made about the examinee's knowledge of the content given the results of performance on that item, that is, mastery or non-mastery. These instructional sensitivity indices have been successfully employed in an ESL context (Perkins, 1987).

Conclusion

Estimating the sensitivity of reading comprehension instruction is an important enterprise in our profession. The results permit us to investigate whether instruction has been faulty, whether the students have shown behavioral changes as a result of instruction, whether the apparatus and paradigm are robust, and whether the test items are flawed or inappropriate. Each of these propositions is worthy of its own research program.

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"The Boy for the Cookie:" Some Evidence for the Non-violation of the Case Filter in Child Second Language Acquisition

Usha Lakshmanan

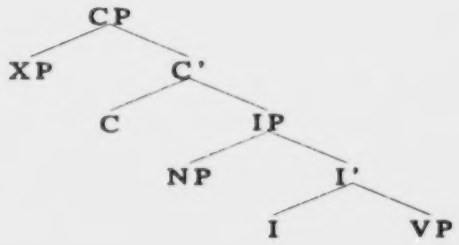
This paper examines the developing L2 grammar of Marta, a four-year-old native speaker of Spanish who acquired English as an L2. The evidence suggests that, in contrast to some recent proposals for child L1 acquisition, in the case of child L2 acquisition, non-thematic properties such as Case and INFL systems appear to be operative from the very beginning. Three types of evidence are presented. One piece of evidence relates to the early emergence of the copula. A second piece of evidence concerns verbless utterances containing *for*. I propose that there is an implicit verb in these utterances and that Case theoretic reasons force movement of the post-verbal object to a pre-verbal position. In this position, the object is assigned Case by *for*, which I propose is in INFL. A third piece of evidence concerns complement clauses of *want*. Although Marta has considerable difficulties in figuring out that *want* is an Exceptional Case Marking verb, the data suggest that she knows and obeys the Case filter.

1. Introduction

Recently, Radford (1990) has proposed that early L1 grammars are characterized by an initial lexical/thematic stage, where functional categories are absent and non-thematic properties are non-operative. Lebeaux (1988/1989) has also claimed that the primitives of theta theory are analytically prior to non-thematic primitives such as Case theory.[1] Radford (1990) examined a large corpus of data from English speaking children and argued that early child clauses are like adult small clauses in that they lack an I (Inflectional) system. In other words, Radford proposes that the structure of early child clauses is as in (1a) rather than (1b), which represents the structure of ordinary adult clauses.

(1a)

(1b)



One type of evidence that Radford cites in support of this view is the omission of the copula in clauses where these would be required in the adult grammar as in (2).

(2)
Geraint naughty.
Lisa naughty.
Hand cold.
Sausage bit hot.
Mouse in window.
It in bag.
(Radford, 1990, pp. 156–157)

Another type of evidence concerns the infinitival complements of the verb *want*. The infinitival particle *to* occupies the I (INFL) position in adult untensed clauses. However, the infinitival particle is rarely present in early grammars. This appears to be the case not only when there is a lexical subject in the infinitival complement clause of *want* as in (3a) but also in those cases where the infinitival complement does not contain a lexical subject as in (3b).

(3a)
Want [teddy drink].
Want [lady open it].
Jem want [mummy take it out].
Want [mummy do].
(Radford, 1990, pp. 140–141)

(3b)
Want [do it].
Want [read].
Want [find bike].
Want [drive car].

Radford further argues that the Case system is not operative in the early grammars of English. Specifically, he suggests that young children appear not to know the Case Filter requirement (in 4) that all lexical NPs must be assigned abstract Case:

(4)
Every phonetically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) Case. (Chomsky, 1986b, p. 74)

One piece of evidence that he adduces in support of this argument is the existence of binominal expressions as in (5). Such binominal expressions, where the verb is absent, have been previously reported in the literature by Brown (1973), Bowerman (1973), and L. Bloom (1970). Radford analyzes such binominal expressions as VP small clauses. He assumes that there is an underlying or an implicit V; however, since V is not lexicalized, and there is no proper antecedent for it, the problem is that no Case is assigned to the intended object NPs.

(5a)
Wayne coat.
Ashley door.
Gerry beans.
Roland sweet.
(Radford, 1990, p. 193)

(5b)
Kendall bath.
Kendall shower.
Kendall book.
Kendall spider.
(Bowerman, 1973, p. 241)

Another piece of evidence for the non-operation of the Case Filter concerns children's frequent use of bare NPs as complements of intransitive verbs as in (6). Since intransitive verbs cannot assign Case to the NP complements, the NPs are Caseless.[2]

(6)
Wayne go river.
Go school. Gone school.
Walk rain.
Going the slide.
(Radford, 1990)

In this paper, I produce evidence which suggests that, in the case of children acquiring a second language in a successive L2 situation, functional/non-thematic properties such as the I-system and the Case system are operative from the very beginning. Specifically, I will argue that child L2 learners do not regress to an earlier stage that has been claimed to exist for child L1 learners, a stage where lexical/thematic properties are present but not functional/non-thematic ones.[3] On the contrary, the evidence indicates that in the case of the child L2 learner, at whatever stage in L1 acquisition principles of Universal Grammar (UG) mature or become operative, at the same time, these principles will be available for L2 acquisition as well.

In support of the above claims, I will examine evidence from the interlanguage (IL) of Marta, a four-year-old native speaker of Spanish who was acquiring English as an L2 in the United States. Data on Marta were first reported in Cancino (1977), Cancino, Rosansky, and Schumann (1974), Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky, and Schumann (1975), and more recently in Lakshmanan (1989/1990, 1991a). The data from Marta consist of a total of fifteen samples. Samples were collected regularly once every two weeks over a period of eight months (for details regarding the data collection, see Cazden et al., 1975).

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I will provide evidence for the presence of the I node in Marta's early L2 grammar. In section 3, I will examine verbless utterances in this subject's early IL and I will argue that *for* in these verbless utterances assigns Case to the NP objects. In section 4, I will examine the status of *for* in Marta's verbless utterances and I will provide evidence that suggests that *for* is in I position. I will also argue that there is an implicit verb in

the verbless utterances and that Case Filter considerations force movement of the NP object to a position where it can be assigned Case by *for*. In section 5, I will examine the consequences of an NP movement analysis in relation to the notions of Barrierhood, Government, the Empty Category Principle, and the Minimality Condition. I will suggest that the object NP moves from its underlying position and is adjoined to VP, in which position it can be assigned Case by *for* which is in I. Section 6 discusses the emergence of verbs in Marta's IL and the consequences of this change in her IL grammar. In section 7, I will examine infinitival complements of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs such as *want* in Marta's IL. I will show that although Marta has considerable difficulty in figuring out the ECM properties of verbs in English, her IL grammar is fully within the confines of Universal Grammar. In the concluding section, I will attempt to account for the omission of lexical verbs during the early stages of Marta's IL.

2. Copula and INFL in Child L2 Grammars

An examination of Marta's IL data suggests that the IP (inflectional phrase) constituent is present even in the early samples. In other words, the evidence indicates that the early clauses produced by this child L2 learner are not small clauses, which lack an I node and its maximal projection. On the contrary, what evidence there is suggests that it is present. One piece of evidence for the existence of an I node and the IP constituent is the presence of the copula *be* even in the earliest samples of the IL of this child L2 learner. As (7a) shows, the copula is the first verb to emerge. A second piece of evidence concerns the auxiliary *be*. In imitation tasks, even when the auxiliary *be* is contracted in the stimulus sentence, such instances of the *be* aux are rendered uncontracted by Marta as is illustrated in (7b).

(7a)
My teacher ... is Christine.
This is Big Bird.
This dress is here.
Is black.
Sesame Street is up here.
Mother is Mary Jo Fuster.

(7b)
Native Speaker: Mother's cooking supper.
Marta: Mother is cooking supper.
NS: Where's the baby sleeping?
M: Where is the baby sleeping?

A third piece of evidence concerns negation and inversion in questions. In negative constructions, the negative element nearly always occurs after *is* (copula/auxiliary). As Cazden et al. (1975) reported, *is* and the auxiliary *can* were the first to be negated this way. In addition, according to Cazden et al., *is* (copula/

auxiliary) was also the first to be inverted in yes/no questions and in wh-questions. In the case of wh-questions, *is* always occurred in the inverted form from the very beginning.

Thus, for this L2 learner, the copula appears to have emerged very early—much earlier than has been reported for L1 English-speaking children (see Cancino, 1977). The early emergence of the copula does not appear to be a peculiarity of Marta's IL alone and has been observed for other child L2 learners as well (Dulay & Burt, 1974; Felix, 1978; Hakuta, 1975; Nicholas, 1981; Tiphine, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1976/1977; and others).[4] The copula appears to function like a place holder perhaps for the contents of INFL.[5,6]

A fourth piece of evidence concerns the infinitival complements of the verb *want*. As we saw in section 1, in the early grammars of English-speaking children, the infinitival particle *to* (which occupies the I position in adult untensed clauses) is rarely present. In contrast, in the case of this child L2 learner, the infinitival particle *to* is rarely absent in utterances where the subject of the infinitival complement of *want* is PRO (i.e., not a lexical subject). As a detailed discussion of the complement clauses of *want* in Marta's IL is presented in section 7, I will not further discuss this evidence in this section.

The copula is also occasionally used in structures which would require a lexical transitive verb. What is interesting is that the lexical verb is absent but the copula is present as is shown in (8). Similar uses of the copula have also been noted by previous researchers (Felix, 1978; Tiphine, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1976/1977). A question that may be posed of such utterances, is: How do the intended NP objects get Case (assuming that the copula in such structures has no Case to assign to the object NPs)?[7]

(8)
Christine is the class. 'Christine teaches the class'
This lady is ... this egg. 'This lady is buying eggs'
The girl is the cookie. 'The girl is eating a cookie'
The boy is tambor = 'drum.' *Pantomimes drumming.*
This girl is the shoes. 'This girl is putting on her shoes'

3. Verbless Utterances and the Case Filter

Utterances such as (8) are extremely rare in Marta's IL. In the earliest samples, at the same time as utterances such as (8) occur lexical verbs other than the copula are nearly always absent. However, we do not find the type of binominal expressions that have been reported for L1 English-speaking children (see 5). Instead, we find Marta producing a curious construction using the preposition *for*. Such utterances first appear in Samples 1 and 2 in spontaneous conversation. These are shown in (9).

(9)
Carolina is for English and Espagnol. *'Carolina speaks English and Spanish.'*
Ah ... for the baby. *In response to: What are you doing?*
For Hello. *'Say hello.'*
For the lamp. *In response to: What did I do? (said while turning the light off and on.)*
For you. Or for mommy. *In response to: What do you hear?*
For the head the little girl. *In response to: What's cookie monster going to do?*
I going for, for little chair. *'I'm going to get a little chair.'*
For /pain/ (Sp for 'comb' (n.)). *In response to: What are you doing to the doll?*

In sample (2) such *for* constructions also appear in the context of a picture description task. These are provided in (10).

(10)
This is the boy for the cookies. *Picture of boy eating cookies.*
This is the girl for *(shakes her hands)* tamboron. *Picture of girl playing the tambourine.*
This is the girl for the baby. *Picture of girl giving a baby/doll a bottle.*
This is the girl and the boy for panderetta = 'tambourine.'
This is the boy for the milk. *Picture of boy pouring milk into a glass.*
This is the girl for the cookie. *NS asks: What is she doing with it? M pantomimes eating it.*
This is the boy for beans = 'beads.' *Picture of boy stringing beads.*
This is the girl and the boy for the blocks. *NS: What are they making? M responds:* For the house. For this house.
This is the girl for the bot. *Picture of girl putting on boots.*
This is the boy for the apartment. *Boy making a tall building.*
This is the girl for the sweater. *Girl putting on her sweater.*
For the shoes. This girl is the shoes. *Girl putting on her shoes.*

What we notice about utterances as in (9) and (10) is that transitive verbs are absent and at the same time the preposition *for* precedes the intended object NP. What is the function of *for* in such structures? *For* appears to be semantically empty—it is not used to express a benefactive meaning. Rather, it appears to serve a syntactic function—that of a Case assigner. In other words, *for* may be said to assign Case to the object NP. Data such as (9) and (10) suggest that this child L2 learner knows and obeys the Case Filter requirement given in (4).[8]

4. NP Movement and the Status of *for*

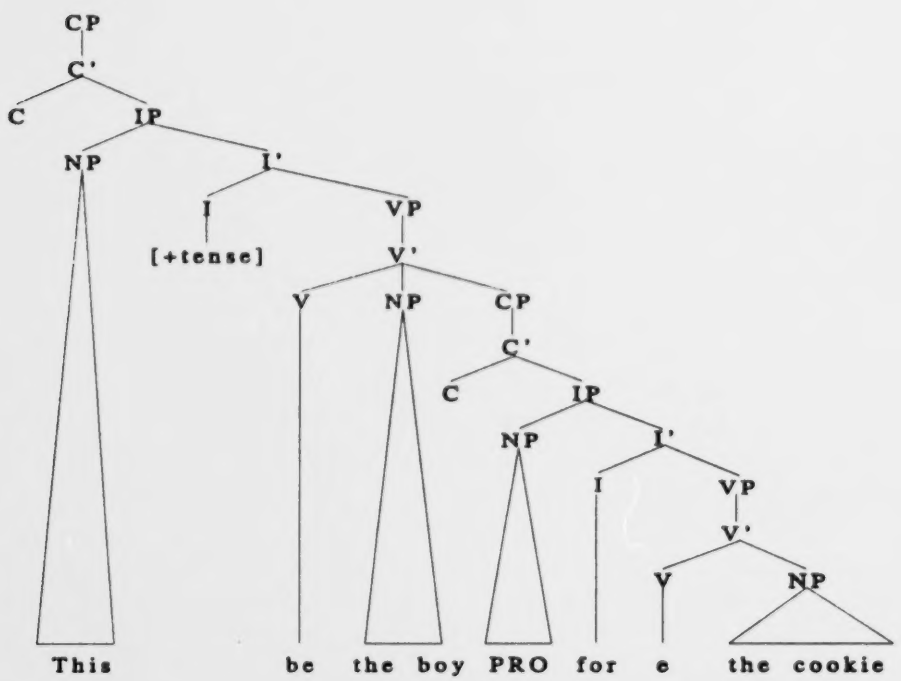
Let us assume that *for* has a syntactic function to fulfil in that it assigns Case to the object NP. Other interesting questions become readily apparent and need to be answered. Is *for* only a Case assigner in such constructions? What is the structure of such *for* utterances? In what follows I will argue that *for* in verbless

utterances as in (9) and (10) is not merely a Case assigner. Specifically, I will argue that *for* occupies the I position (in other words *for* occupies the position occupied by the infinitival particle *to* in adult infinitival clauses) and that the structure of the *for* utterances is possibly as in (11c) rather than (11a) or (11b).[9,10]

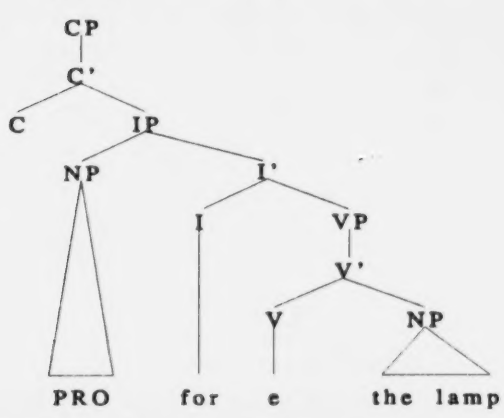
(11)
a. [$_{PP}$ [$_{NP}$ the boy] [$_{PP}$ for the cookie]]
b. [$_{VP}$ V for the cookie]
c. [$_{IP}$ PRO for [$_{VP}$ V the cookie]]

According to (11a) the structure of the *for* utterance is a PP small clause. On the other hand, (11b) and (11c) state that there is an underlying/implicit Verb. According to (11b) the underlying verb precedes *for*. In other words, (11b) suggests that the *for* utterance is a case of transfer from Spanish, since certain verbs in Spanish take a preposition when the object NP is a person. The structure shown in (11c) suggests that there is an IP constituent, and that *for* occupies the position occupied by the infinitival particle *to* (in other words, *for* is probably in I position). Assuming (11c), the full underlying structure of the verbless utterances in (10) such as *this is the boy for the cookie* is as in (11d), and the full structure of the verbless utterances in (9) such as *for the mommy* (= 'I hear mommy') or *for the lamp* (= 'you're turning the light off and on') is as in (11e).[11]

(11d)



(11e)



In the remaining part of this section, I will argue in favor of a movement analysis according to which the object NP moves from its underlying position to a position where it is adjacent to *for* so that it can be assigned Case by it (since an implicit verb lacking a proper antecedent cannot assign Case). The movement of the object NP (as in the case of the English passive construction) is necessitated in order to avoid a violation of the Case Filter principle. Before presenting a discussion of the movement analysis, I would like to turn briefly to other constructions where *for* is used at the same time as in verbless utterances.

In samples 1 and 2, for example, we notice that *for* is used in possessive constructions as in (12). It may be mentioned here that the genitive case marker *'s* is absent during this stage.

(12)
For Hymie Juan. 'Hymie's belt.'
This is for me. 'This is mine.'
This bow is for the Jaimie. 'This ball is Jaimie's.'
This water is for me. 'This is my glass of water.'
This is for him. *In response to: Whose house is this?*
This is for him. *In response to: Whose sandwich is that?*

At the same time, *for* is also used instead of other prepositions such as *of* as in (13), and *to* as in (14a) and (14b). In fact, *for* appears to be the only preposition that is used during the early stages of this L2 learner's interlanguage.

(13)
This picture is for the mother or the father or the boys and girl. 'This is a picture of the mother and the father...'
Dis picture is for the train. 'This is a picture of a train.'
This is for airplane. 'This is a picture of an airplane.'
I be more picture for me here. 'I have more pictures of myself here.'

Picture for my Barbie. 'This is a picture of my Barbie.'
This here for the little girl. 'This is a picture of a little girl.'
And the book for Sesame Street. 'This is a book on/about Sesame Street.'

(14a)
NS: Did your Daddy go out?
M: Yeah.
NS: Where did he go?
M: For the school. For the school.

(14b)
NS: Where are you going?
M: For /hour/. *(goes out of the room and returns with cookies)*

During the later stages of this learner's interlanguage, such uses of *for* also occur, as shown in (14c), although such occurrences are not frequent.

(14c)
M: I've a book and I want to read it for you. (S12)
M: I could read it for you in English. (S13)

The evidence cited thus far suggests that *for* is a general Case assigner, which in turn may be taken as evidence against the claim that the structure of the *for* utterance in verbless constructions is as in (11c). However, although *for* is used instead of other prepositions, it is also used instead of the infinitival particle *to*. Direct evidence for this comes primarily from the later samples where we find leftovers of such uses of *for* persisting as the data in (15a) indicate. It may be mentioned here that at the same time as such uses of *for* occur, utterances with the infinitival particle *to* are also present.

(15a)
Going for eat. (S3)
Is for eat. (S3)
I take a cup. I take a glass. This glass xxx [fink/think] I put in thing for eat ... (S6)
This for eating now. She's eating a cereal. (S6)
First I need ... flou ... a big p- down a big thing for put it over ... (S7)
You know my mommy will get me one of that doll for get—one of that doll for take me home. (S9)
Come here for see the crocodiles. (S9)
I'll call h- my mamma will call you for come to play in in my c- house. (S10)
Can keep on the earth all the stars for put it in the head of the monsters. (S10)
What you want for eat? (S11)
Here you have something more for hide. *Gives NS pajamas to hide from the witch cook.* (S11)
For make cakes. You have to tell me. (S12)
And what you use for make a circle? (S12)

You can stay for play on the back part of my apartment. (S12)
For going up the airplane. (S13)
For take it to the airport. (S13).
C'mon Rubi. You're ready for see the show. (S13)

In addition, in samples (2) and (4) we find the infinitival particle *to* used in constructions of the type in (15b).[12]

(15b)
This girl is to wash your hand and wash your feet. (S2)
Be to pull the baby. (S2)
I go to- to- to- the cookie for me (S4)

Then there is one crucial bit of evidence in sample 2 which is presented in (16).

(16)
This is the boy for the cookie eat. (S2)
For the cookie eat. (S2)

What is interesting about the data in (16) is that *for* is present and at the same time the verb—in this case *eat*—is overtly realized. However, the word order of the verb and the object does not (on the surface, at least) resemble the target word order since the object, *the cookie*, precedes the verb. It is important to note that there are only two such occurrences in the whole data and word order errors as in (16) are not productive. These are crucial data for several reasons. First, they suggest that there may indeed be an implicit V in the verbless *for* utterances given in (9) and (10). Second, they suggest that the structure of the *for* utterance is not V *for* NP but *for* V NP (i.e., the structure is not as in 11b but as in 11c). Third, they suggest that the Case Filter is at work which forces the movement of the NP object to the position preceding the implicit V. Fourth, they suggest that *for* (which I claim is in I position), is treating the NP as its object even though it is not. As stated earlier, utterances such as (16) do not persist. Why should this be the case? Let us assume that the object NP, *the cookie*, in (16) has moved from its underlying position following V to a position preceding V. The movement of the object NP would result in a trace which is coindexed with it, thus yielding a chain. Since V is lexical in the utterances in (16), it would assign Case to the NP trace. But the moved NP (which is the head of the chain) would also be assigned Case by *for*, which treats it as its object. Since the chain would contain more than one Case marked position, it would result in a violation of the uniqueness condition, which is believed to hold of well formed chains (see Chomsky, 1986). The uniqueness condition is given in (17).

(17)
If $C = (\alpha_1, ..., \alpha_n)$ is a maximal CHAIN, then α_n occupies its unique θ position and α_1 its unique Case-marked position. (Chomsky, 1986b, p. 137)

Let us assume that this learner knows that a chain cannot contain more than one Case-marked position and so this would account for why constructions as in (16) do not recur.[13]

5. Government, Barrierhood, and the ECP

Thus far, I have argued that there is an underlying or implicit V in the verbless *for* utterances. Since V is not lexical, and since it does not have a Proper Antecedent, it cannot assign Case to its object. Assuming that *for* (which is in I position) is a potential Case assigner, it should be able to govern the NP object within VP and assign Case to it. Along with Chomsky (1986a), I assume the following definition of government:

(18)
α governs β iff α m-commands β and there is no γ, γ a barrier for β, such that γ excludes α. (Chomsky, 1986a, p. 9)

From (18) it follows that, although *for* m-commands the NP object in VP, it can govern it only if VP is not a barrier. I assume the definition of barrier as in (19).

(19)
γ is a barrier for β iff (a) or (b):
a. γ immediately dominates δ, δ a BC for β;
b. γ is a BC for β, γ≠ IP. [Where γ is a maximal projection] (Chomsky, 1986a, p. 14)

VP is a maximal projection and from (19b) it follows that if VP is a barrier for the NP object which it dominates, it must be a blocking category. In other words, it must not be L-marked (Lexically marked), where blocking category (BC) and L-marking are defined as in (20) and (21).

(20)
γ is a BC for β iff γ is not L-marked and γ dominates β. [Where γ is a maximal projection] (Chomsky, 1986a, p.14)

(21)
α L-marks β iff α is a lexical category that θ-governs β.

I assume that VP is not L-marked. If it were L-marked, it would have to be L-marked by *for* which is in I position. However, in order for *for* to L-mark VP, it would have to θ-govern it, where θ-government is defined as in (22).

(22)
α θ-governs β iff α is a zero-level category that θ-marks β, and α, β are sisters.

I will assume here that *for* does not θ-govern VP. Thus, VP is a barrier to government of the NP object contained in VP by *for*. It is a blocking category and it is not L-marked by *for*, which is in I position. So, as stated earlier, in order not to violate the Case Filter, the NP object moves. But what position can it move to? There appear to be at least three possibilities, presented in (23).

(23)
a. NP moves and adjoins to I (which contains *for*).
b. NP moves into Specifier (SPEC) position of VP.
c. NP adjoins to VP.

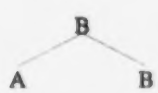
(23a) would violate some version of Emonds' Structure Preserving Condition (Emonds, 1976; Chomsky, 1986a) which may be stated as in (24).

(24)
Adjunction (or substitution) of an XP (i.e., a phrasal category) can only be to or into another XP; adjunction or substitution of an X^0 (i.e., a head), can only be to or into another X^0.

Let us assume that children know the condition in (24) and hence (23a) would be ruled out as a possibility. (23b) would be a possibility, since *for* can govern and assign Case to an NP in SPEC of VP, VP not being a barrier to government of NP in its SPEC position from outside VP (cf. Chomsky, 1986a, p. 43). But there are technical problems in assuming (23b) if we accept Koopman and Sportiche's (1988) recent proposal that the subject NP originates in the SPEC of VP where VP = VMAX. For the purpose of this paper, I am going to ignore possibility (23b) and concentrate instead on possibility (23c).

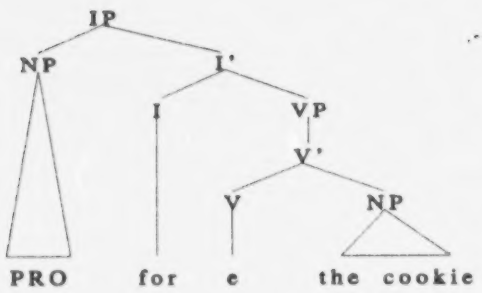
According to (23c), the NP object moves and adjoins to VP. Here, I assume along with Chomsky (1986a) and May (1985) that in a typical adjunction structure as in (25), where A is adjoined to B, A is not dominated by B. Rather B consists of two segments and A is dominated by B only if it is dominated by every segment of B. In other words, the adjoined element A is neither dominated nor not dominated by B.

(25)

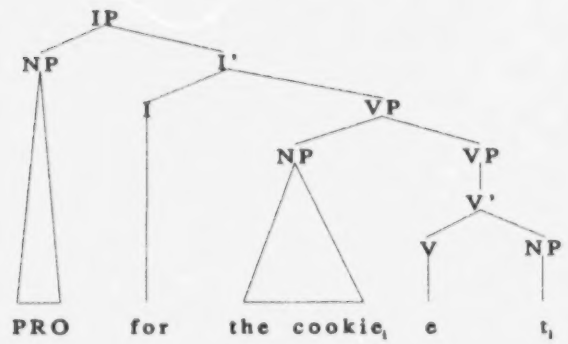


The structures of the *for* utterance before and after movement are given in (26) and (27) respectively.

(26)



(27)



The possibility given in (23c) would not violate the Structure Preserving Condition in (24). Since NP is an XP, it can adjoin to VP, which is also an XP. The movement of the NP is from an A position to an A' position. But NP movement is generally defined as movement from an A position to another A position. However, as Seely (personal communication) has observed, "an NP may move to an A' position even if that NP is not an operator (all else equal). There is no problem unless the NP moves from an A to an A' position and then on to an A position. If the NP moves and adjoins to VP and stops moving, it is fine (again all else equal)." But if the NP moves and adjoins to VP, this could lead to a possible violation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) which is stated in (28).[14]

(28)
Every trace must be properly governed.

Proper government can be established in one of two ways as stated in (29).

(29)
α properly governs β iff α θ-governs or antecedent-governs β. (Chomsky 1986a, p. 17)

The trace resulting from the movement of the NP is governed by V but, possibly, it is not properly governed by it since V is not lexical and there is no proper antecedent for it. Although it is not properly governed by V, the trace is properly antecedent-governed by the moved NP, if we assume government in the sense of exclusion and inclusion (see 18). So there would be no ECP violation if the trace is at least properly antecedent-governed. Since the structure resulting from the movement of the NP is an adjunction structure, the NP which is adjoined to VP is not excluded by VP. For the NP to be excluded by VP, it would have to be excluded by every segment of VP. There is an additional problem posed by the Minimality Condition, given in (30).

(30)
A category γ is a barrier for β if it is the immediate projection (alternatively, a projection) of a zero-level category $\delta \neq \beta$. (Chomsky, 1986a, p. 88)

According to the Minimality Condition, since V is a closer governor, V' would be a barrier to government of the trace by the NP adjoined to VP. However, as stated earlier, V is not lexical and there is no proper antecedent for it. Therefore it cannot properly govern the trace. Possibly, the Minimality Condition is relevant only in those cases where the closer governor is a lexical head and not in those cases where the closer governor is an empty head. Since V is not lexically realized, possibly, there would not be any violation of the Minimality Condition.[15] I will assume that this is indeed the case.

Another problem concerns the relation between *for*, which is in I position, and the adjoined NP. Does *for* govern the NP adjoined to VP or does the VP still constitute a barrier to the government of NP by *for*? Since the structure resulting after movement of the object NP is an adjunction structure, the NP is neither dominated nor not dominated by VP. Therefore VP is not a barrier and *for* can govern the NP adjoined to VP. But can *for* assign Case to the NP? Since the IP is an infinitival clause, that is, I is [–tense] and *for* is the equivalent of *to*, namely an infinitival particle, it should not have any Case to assign. It is generally accepted that the infinitival particle *to* does not assign Case (nominative Case) to the subject NP, that is, the NP in the SPEC of IP. PRO (which is ungoverned) occupies the SPEC position of IP in the *for* utterances and cannot be assigned Case. The object NP occupies a position to the right of *for*. As we saw earlier, *for* is a general Case assigner in Marta's early L2 grammar: It is used in possessive constructions and is also used instead of other prepositions such as *of* and *to*. So, possibly, there is a reanalysis of *for* which is in I position. *For* is perhaps reanalyzed as a prepositional infinitival particle (cf. the use of *for* as a prepositional complementizer in the adult English grammar as in *For John to go there would be foolish*).[16]

The reanalyzed *for* treats the NP adjoined to VP as its object (even though it is not) and assigns Case to it.[17,18] The end result is that there is no violation of the Case Filter.[19,20]

6. Emergence of Lexical Verbs

In samples 6 and 10, the same picture description task as the one in sample 2 was used. The data obtained through this picture description task in sample 6 and sample 10 are displayed in (31) and (32) respectively.

(31)
Picture Description Task (S6):
He in the table put—one of this book.
And this is girl. Eating a cookie.
This is a girl. Take a doll.
She's eating a cereal.
This is a boy. *NS: What's he doing?* Put a milk in the glass.
This one doing a tambourine. Boom, boom.
He doing um a block house.
He doing, xxx he doing, um he doing put, he put he hat he hat and his coat.

(32)
Picture Description task (S10):
He's have a playfull of cookies.
He's playing a drum.
The girl and the boy ares putting her gloves.
The boy is putting his hat.
The girl and the boy is playing with /p-ing/ = 'beads.'
The boy is playing with blocks.
The girl is putting milk.
The girl have a plateful of cookies. *NS: What's she doing with them? M makes eating motions.*
Girl and boy is drinking milk.

When we compare the data in (31) and (32) with those in (10), we notice that *for* is absent, unlike in (10). Further, verbs are overtly present. Another difference concerns the subject position of the clauses in (31) and (32). In the *for* utterances, according to (11c) the subject is PRO, which can only occur in an ungoverned position. According to (11c), the *for* utterance is [–tense] and so PRO is not governed. What we find in the data in (31) and (32) is either that there is an overt lexical subject (usually a pronoun in the nominative) or that sometimes the subject is suppressed. The clauses in (31) and (32), unlike the *for* utterances, may be argued to be [+tense]. So in those cases where the subject is phonetically suppressed, the identity of the empty subject is probably *pro* (i.e., an empty category with the features +pronominal, –anaphoric) and not PRO. For in the early verbless for utterances was argued to be an infinitival particle like *to* in I position

of infinitival [–tense] clauses. Since, the clauses in (31) and (32) are [+tense], *for* would not be present in such clauses. This, rather than the fact that verbs are present, would account for why *for* does not persist in utterances such as (31) and (32). Further, as stated earlier, leftovers of the earlier stage where *for* is in I position of [–tense] clauses occur in the later stages of Marta's IL (see data in 15a).

7. Infinitival Complements and Exceptional Case Marking

Let us now turn to infinitival complements of *want* and *like* in Marta's IL. I argued earlier that in contrast to what has been proposed for L1 learners, the early clauses produced by this L2 learner are not small clauses, that is, they do not lack an IP constituent and an I node. One piece of evidence that I cited above is the presence of the copula in its uncontracted form even during the initial stages of Marta's interlanguage. Another piece of evidence concerns Marta's productions of infinitival complements of verbs such as *want* and *like*. The first occurrence of the infinitival complement of *want* occurs towards the end of sample 2 as shown in (33):

(33)
I wanta see you tomorrow.

Unlike what has been reported for child L1 learners, Marta never uses the contracted form *wanna* except for one instance. After sample 2, infinitival complements of *want* occur regularly and in nearly all cases the infinitival particle *to* is present as in (34).

(34)
I want to live at a /tee-shirt/. (S6)
You want to sing it? (S7)
Do you want-a-you sing it now? (S7)
I want to put in the piscina with my shoes off. (S7)
I want to go with you to the swimming pool. (S7)
You want to go with me? (S7)
You want to see the fish? (S7)
And then he don't want go, he don't want to. (S7)
I want to drink water. (S8)
I want to close the door. (S8)
I want to put it myself. (S8)
She don't want to play with. (S8)
What do you want to show me? (S9)
I want to get a taxi. (S8)
Want to buy one of them. (S9).
If somebody wants to paint. (S10)

Another verb which takes an infinitival complement is *like*. Even where this is concerned, the infinitival particle is always present as in (35).

(35)
Speaks English and Spanish but he likes to speak Spanish. (S8)
I'd like to buy one of that. (S9)
I like to draw too. (S9)
I like to eat all of the things of my home. (S10)
They like to play most inside and outside too. (S10)

In all of the above cases of the infinitival complements of *want* and *like*, the subject of the infinitival clause is not overtly present. The subject of the infinitival clause is PRO as in the adult grammar. What about cases where the infinitival complement contains a lexical subject? In the adult grammar, the lexical subject in such a position would not be able to get Case from I because I is [–tense]. But in addition to being control verbs (that is, they can license PRO in the subject position of their infinitival complements), *want* and *like* are Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs and can therefore license a lexical NP in the subject position of the infinitival clause. In other words, they treat the lexical NP in the subject position of the infinitival complement as their object, even though it is not, and assign Case to it. The data from Marta's IL suggest that she has considerable problems figuring out that *want* and *like* are ECM verbs. During the stage when she produces utterances as in (34) and (35), Marta also produces infinitival complements of *want* and *like* with a lexical subject in the embedded clause, although such utterances are much less frequent. Marta's very first attempt to produce such an utterance is given in (36).

(36)
I go to say one thing you want to I put here in this little paper? (S7)

What is interesting to note is that the lexical subject of the embedded clause is a pronoun and it is in the nominative. In addition, *to* is present but it precedes the subject of the infinitival clause. The use of the nominative form of the pronoun suggests that the embedded clause is [+tense] and not [–tense]—that is, the embedded clause is not an infinitival clause at all. Further, (36) also suggests that *to* has been reanalyzed as a complementizer and is in COMP position (i.e., *to* here is similar to *that*).

In all other occurrences similar to (36), *to* is always absent and the lexical subject (which is a pronoun in nearly all the instances) is always in the nominative form. Further, although *to* is absent, the complementizer *that* is never overtly present.[21] The relevant examples are shown in (37).

(37)
What you want I put here? (S7)
And what you want I make you? (S7)
You want I make a "B"? (S9)
I want you see this the picture. (S10)

Want the dress get white and this color. (S11)
I don't want they go away. (S13)
Where you want I take you? (S13)
D'you want I tell you? (S14)
Because I want the other stick go in there and then come out like a magic. (S14)
I don't want Joshua no see you. (S15)
Because I don't want he, he, he just see you. (S15)
Because I don't want he hides there. (S15)
And he likes I marry him. 'He would like me to marry him' (S15)

It may be argued that perhaps Marta does not distinguish between nominative pronouns and accusative pronouns, but this would not be a valid argument as there is overwhelming evidence that at the stage when she produces utterances as in (37) she can and does maintain a distinction between nominative and accusative forms of the pronoun. What is interesting about utterances as in (36) and (37) is that although they do not match the target L2 grammar, they are fully within the confines of Universal Grammar. Marta appears to know that lexical NPs cannot occur in the subject position of [–tense] clauses.[22] Notice that we do *not* find any utterances as in (38).

(38)
*Because I don't want he to just see you.

Until the very end, Marta produces utterances as in (37). The only piece of evidence for this learner's successful acquisition of the ECM properties of *want* and *like* are the utterances given in (39). These occur in sample 15 which also happens to be the final sample:

(39)
Because I don't want him to bother us. (S15)
No you can't ... because he don't like puppets to go there when they're when he's dressing. (S15)

8. Conclusion

To conclude, we have seen that lexical verbs are absent during the initial stages of acquisition of a second language. However, although verbs are absent, I have provided evidence which suggests that non-thematic primitives such as the Case Filter are fully operative. I have also provided evidence which suggests that the IP constituent is present in early stages of child L2 grammars, in contrast to what has been proposed for L1 learners. The evidence from Marta indicates that in successive L2 acquisition (at least in the case of children), L2 learners may not

regress to a lexical/thematic stage where non-thematic properties are not operative. Rather, at whatever stage principles of UG mature or become operative for the L1, these principles will be available for L2 acquisition at the same time.

However, an important question which I have not addressed thus far is why verbs are absent. One explanation may be that in the initial stages of acquisition of a language, the learner's attention is focused more on nouns/objects rather than on verbs/actions. However, this is not a satisfactory explanation, as even a cursory glance at the early samples of the IL of Marta will show that the attention of this learner is not only on objects but on actions as well. Another explanation may be that the omission of verbs may be the result of processing limitations which serve to keep the learner's utterances relatively short.[23] But an explanation based on processing limitations would only predict that binominal expressions would occur; it would not predict the occurrence of elements such as *for* in verbless utterances in Marta's IL. A more reasonable explanation relates to the silent period that has frequently been reported in the child L2 literature. Children have often been known to go through a silent period where they do not produce utterances in the L2. A classic example is Uguisu, a five-year-old native speaker of Japanese, who is reported by Hakuta (1975) to have gone through a nearly five-month long silent period during her acquisition of English as L2. Marta, in contrast to Uguisu, did not go through a similar silent period. In fact, she is reported to have begun to produce utterances in English fairly soon after she was exposed to it (Cancino, 1977). Perhaps, then, what we can speculate about Marta is that she did go through a type of silent period, in her case one restricted to lexical verbs. Marta avoids using verbs. Perhaps she could have resorted to verbs in Spanish. However, she does not do this at all. Now why should she have avoided using verbs?

A possible answer to this question involves the notion that the verb is in some sense the nucleus of relevant information about a language. Acquiring a verb in a language involves figuring out its meaning(s), the thematic properties associated with it, its subcategorization properties, its morphological properties, such as verb endings, and so on. So a delay in the use of the target L2 verbs may in fact be advantageous to learners to the extent that it may provide them with time to analyze (at some level of consciousness) the target L2 and figure out the relevant information unfettered by their own productions.

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Notes

1. It must be pointed out, however, that the status of functional categories and non-thematic systems in early L1 grammars is far from being an uncontroversial issue, as there are those (Hyams, 1986, and others) who do not share Radford's or Lebeaux's views on this.

2. It may be mentioned here that following Abney (1987), Radford maintains a distinction between NPs and DPs. According to this analysis, DPs are determiner phrases that are maximal projections of the determiner head and its complement. Radford assumes that adult nominals are Case-marked DPs which have to be licensed by principles of Case theory whereas child nominals are Caseless NPs. Another piece of evidence cited by Radford for the non-operation of the Case Filter in early L1 English grammars is the absence of a determiner system.

3. Corder (1977) stated that L2 acquisition is a process of complication. Initially, according to Corder, the L2 learner regresses to a basic language which he claims also characterizes the early stages of child L1 acquisition. While Corder does not provide specific details regarding the properties of such a basic language, he suggests that the grammar of this basic language is determined by semantics and the situational context rather than syntax. From Corder's point of view, L2 acquisition is a process of increasing complication of the base.

4. J. Huang (1971) reports on the acquisition of English by Paul, a five-year-old Chinese child. During the early stages, Paul produced a number of constructions where the copula would be required (specifically, structures of the *this is X* type) but, in contrast to Marta (and other child L2 learners), Paul usually omitted the copula. However, Huang also reports that Paul usually maintained a pause between *this* and the following element (usually a noun). Possibly, in this child's early grammar the pause functions similarly to the copula in Marta's IL, namely, as a place holder for the contents of I.

5. It may be noted here that there appear to be two possibilities with respect to how the copula is generated in this learner's IL. One possibility is that it is base generated in I position. Another possibility is that it is generated under VP and that it subsequently moves to I position.

6. Lydia White (personal communication) has pointed out that the presence of the copula in utterances produced by Marta during the early stages of her IL is also evidence that the Case Filter is operative, in that the copula allows nominative Case to be assigned to the subject in such sentences.

7. It is possible that some of the occurrences of *is* in the utterances given in (8) are instances of the auxiliary and not the copula *be*. However, regardless of whether *is* in these utterances is a copula or an auxiliary, the essential point is that the I node appears to be present in this subject's early IL.

8. It is relevant to mention here that the definite article is usually present even during the early stages of Marta's IL when verbs are absent. As Cancino (1977) has observed, the definite article emerges much earlier in Marta's IL in contrast to what has been observed for L1 English-speaking children. Assuming Abney's (1987) analysis (see Note 2), the NP objects in Marta's *for* utterances may be regarded as Case-marked DPs (determiner phrases).

9. Lydia White (personal communication) has suggested that assuming more fully articulated tree structure proposals such as those in Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989), the possibility of locating *for* in a category such as AGR-O needs to be explored. Pollock (1989) has proposed that the INFL node should be split into three different categories, AGR (agreement), T (tense), and NEG (negation), with each category heading its own maximal projection. Following Pollock, Chomsky (1989) assumes that there is an AGR category and its maximal projection situated between NEG and VP. However, Pollock and Chomsky differ as to what type of AGR it is. Pollock considers it Subject-AGR (AGR-S) while Chomsky argues that it is Object-AGR (AGR-O). According to Chomsky, AGR-S is base generated as the topmost node of the clause structure, that is preceding T (F(inite) in his terminology).

It is not clear to me at present whether an analysis which locates *for* in AGR-O can be supported or not. The possibility of locating *for* in a category such as AGR-O will depend on what we assume to be the null hypothesis that the child starts out with. If the null hypothesis is that all languages are maximally alike, then we would expect that even in a language such as English, which does not have overt marking for object agreement, AGR-O along with its maximal projection would be present. Under the null hypothesis, perhaps it may be possible to locate *for* in AGR-O. However, if we assume a weaker hypothesis, which is that languages vary with respect to the functional categories that they instantiate, then positive evidence for the existence of the category AGR-O will have to be encountered first. Recently, Iatridou (1990), who assumes the weaker hypothesis, has argued that in English (and perhaps also in French) there is no AGR category and its maximal projection situated between NEG and VP. Assuming that Iatridou is correct, it would be difficult to locate *for* in AGR-O since evidence for AGR-O will not be encountered in English. Possibly, then, *for* (like the infinitival particle *to*) would be base generated in T(ense), i.e., [–finite] tense.

10. It is interesting to note that in Belfast English (see Henry, 1987 cited in Borer, 1989), *for* can be cliticized to the infinitival particle *to* in post-subject position (i.e., I position) as is illustrated below.

(i)
John seems for to be happy.
John isn't likely for to win.
I wanted John for to win.
I don't know how for to do that.

11. It may be noted here that while PRO in sentences such as [This is the boy [PRO for the cookie]] is an instance of obligatory (Object-) Controlled PRO, PRO in sentences such as, for example, [PRO for the lamp] and [PRO for the mommy] is not an instance of obligatory control. Nor does PRO in the latter sentences have an arbitrary interpretation in the context. Rather, it appears to have a discourse reference. As Bresnan (1982) has shown, PRO in adult English grammars can refer to elements in the discourse. In (i) (which is Bresnan's 36c), for example, PRO, which is the subject of the embedded clause *what to do* can only be interpreted as referring to *Mary*.

(i)
Mary sighed and looked around the room. It was unclear what PRO to do with herself now that Molly was gone.

From an acquisition point of view, it may be hypothesized that arbitrary control PRO is acquired at a later stage.

12. It must be mentioned here that in the original transcripts of Marta's IL, the utterance shown in (15b), *This girl is to wash your hand,* is presented as *This girl is the wash your hand.* Fortunately, the audiotape recordings were available and on verification it is clear that the utterance shown in (15b) is the correct one.

13. Daniel Seely (personal communication) points out that the sentences in (16) pose a problem for the movement analysis. Since a lexical verb (*eat*, in this case) is present, we would not expect the object NP to move in the first place. I agree that the data in (16) do make the movement analysis proposed here problematic. While I do not at present have any explanation that would fully account for why there is movement of the object NP in (16), one possibility, is that *eat* is analyzed by Marta as an unaccusative verb. Belletti (1988) has argued that unaccusative verbs do not assign accusative Case (which is the characteristic Case of objects) to their selected D-structure objects. Based on evidence from languages with a morphologically rich Case system, Belletti argues that accusative is not the only Case with which an object can be marked. In Finnish, for example, a transitive verb such as *pani* 'put' (depending on its interpretation), can assign either accusative or the partitive Case to its object. Further, if accusative Case is assigned, the object has a definite reading; if the partitive Case is assigned, the object has an indefinite reading. In addition, it appears that a definite NP can be assigned only accusative Case and not partitive Case. Given the fact that nearly all the objects produced by Marta during the early stage are definite NPs (see Note 8), it is possible that movement of the object NP *the cookies* in (16) is necessitated because the verb *eat* has a reading associated with that of an unaccusative verb and thus cannot assign accusative Case to its object.

14. I am grateful to Daniel Seely for bringing this to my attention.

15. See Borsley (1989, pp. 128–129) for a similar view that categories with empty heads do not count as barriers to government.

16. It is interesting to note that historically, the infinitival particle *to* derived from the preposition to (see Jespersen, 1965).

17. Lakshmanan (1991a) also reports on verbless utterances in the early IL of Cheo, a five-year-old native speaker of Spanish who acquired English as a second language in the U.S. Although *for* does not occur in the verbless utterances produced by Cheo, the data suggest that this learner also observes the Case Filter. Specifically, this learner does not produce binominal expressions. Instead, he uses two main devices in verbless utterances. One device is to use the preposition *with* (e.g., *the boy with the milk*—picture of a boy pouring milk into a glass). A second device is to use a coordinated construction (e.g., *the boy and the cookie*). If one assumes that *and* and *with* are Case assigners, then the evidence from Marta and Cheo suggest that individual differences among child L2 learners may at best be superficial and that the same abstract principles (in this instance, the Case Filter) may be at work.

Butterworth (1972), reporting on the English L2 development of Ricardo, a 13 year-old native speaker of English, discusses the non-target like use of *for* by this learner. A preliminary examination of the data relating to Ricardo's *for* utterances do not provide any justification for extending the analysis of Marta's verbless *for* utterances presented here to the *for* utterances in Ricardo's IL. Butterworth only provides a selected list of utterances and not the entire set of transcripts; however, from the available listing of the *for* utterances, there does not seem to be any evidence that these are verbless utterances. The verb is usually present but *for* follows (rather than precedes) the verb as in *I clean for clothes*, for example. In other words, the *for*

here, is, arguably, not in I position—in contrast to the analysis proposed in the case of Marta's IL.

18. Felix (1975), reporting on longitudinal data from four- to eight-year-old English-speaking children acquiring German as a second language, has observed an early verbless stage for these German L2 learners. More specifically, according to Felix, most of the early non-copula utterances produced by these subjects are of the type, S + Aux + (O), as for example, *ich kann das* (I can (do) that). In adult German, the main verb would be required in such utterances. Whether an analysis on the lines similar to that suggested for Marta can be applied to these German L2 data is a question that needs to be addressed.

19. There appear to some similarities between *for* in the verbless utterances and the preposition *ba* in the Chinese *ba*-construction. In the Chinese *ba*-construction, the NP which is interpreted as the object of the verb appears pre-verbally and is assigned Case by *ba*, which precedes it. (For various analyses of the *ba*-construction see Goodall, 1989; C-T. J. Huang, 1982; Koopman, 1984; Thompson, 1973; Travis, 1984.)

20. Suppose we do not assume that there is an underlying V. That is to say, the structure of the verbless *for* utterances is a PP small clause as in (11a). This would imply that *for* in such utterances is present solely for the purpose of assigning Case to the intended object NPs when the verb is absent. There is some evidence which suggests that this may not be a reasonable argument. The evidence consists of data from the early samples of this L2 learner's IL—data which occur at the same time as when she produces the verbless *for* utterances. The evidence concerns a construction which may be regarded as the equivalent of the double object construction in the adult grammar of English. This occurs in sample 2 in the context of the picture description task and is shown in (i).

(i)
This is the girl and the milk for the baby.

Just prior to producing the utterance in (i), Marta produces the utterance shown in (ii).

(ii)
This is the girl for the milk.

The picture which Marta is attempting to describe is a picture of a girl giving a doll a bottle. In (ii) only one of the objects is expressed whereas in (i) both objects are present. If *for* were merely a Case assigner and the verbless *for* utterances were PP small clauses, then we would expect Marta's productions of double object constructions to be as in (iii) rather than as in (i):

(iii)
This is the girl for the milk for the baby.

Instead, Marta first produces (ii) and then produces (i). The absence of constructions such as (iii) and the presence of the constructions given in (i) and (ii) suggest that there is only one *for* present and that it is probably in I position. But in the sentence shown in (i) there are two object NPs, *the baby* and *the milk*. If the NP *the baby* moves and adjoins to VP in order to get Case from *for*, there would not be any position for the other object NP to move to in order to get Case. What perhaps happens in the case of double object constructions as in (i), is that one of the NPs—in this case *the milk*—is base generated in a position conjoined to the NP *the girl*. Possibly, the conjunct *and* assigns Case to the NP *the milk* (see Schwartz, 1985 for a similar view regarding

conjuncts). Since one of the NPs is base generated in a conjoined structure, only one object NP needs to move and adjoin to VP in order to be assigned Case by *for*. However, there is a major problem with the above analysis, which relates to the theta criterion. If the NP *the milk* is base generated in conjoined position, (i.e., it is not generated as an object of the implicit V), how does it get its thematic role? At present, it is not quite clear to me how this problem can be resolved.

21. Selinker and Lakshmanan (1991) report on data from adult L2 learners of English, which indicate that adult learners also have problems in figuring out that *want* is an ECM verb. However, unlike Marta (and two other child L2 learners, Cheo and Muriel), the complementizer position is always overtly filled with *that* as in *I want that he go there*. Selinker and Lakshmanan discuss the implications of this difference between child L2 learners and adult L2 learners from the viewpoint of language transfer and fossilization.

22. See Lakshmanan (1991b) and Selinker and Lakshmanan (1991) for similar evidence concerning the acquisition of infinitival complements of *want* by two other children, Muriel, a native speaker of French, and Cheo, a native speaker of Spanish who acquired English as L2.

23. See P. Bloom (1990) for an account based on processing limitations for the omission of subjects in early L1 grammars of English.

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Covert, Undetected, and Uncorrected: Apparently Fossilized Structures in the English Interlanguage of a Native Speaker of German

Ben Novak

The goal of this paper is to identify apparently fossilized idiosyncrasies in the English interlanguage (IL) of a native speaker of German, ascertain their origins, and find possible reasons for their stabilization. This requires maximally accurate interpretations of the speaker's intended meanings, and clear understanding of the IL structures through which those meanings are conveyed. The method of obtaining this knowledge of the IL involves a two part analysis. The data consists of a nine page letter written by H in 1987, and her correction of the letter in 1991. These two sets of data were compared with regard to what was (not) corrected and why, and what H's intentions were. These analyses indicate that, while some stabilized idiosyncrasies originate in interlingual identifications, and some corrections are toward target language norms, others do not correspond to any forms outside the IL. The latter, which seem to be improvements on the target language, are the focus of this paper, with emphasis on restrictive relative clause structures. The fact that none of the idiosyncrasies greatly affect the perceived interpretability of the IL by native speakers would inhibit their identification as errors by H, thereby encouraging stabilization. These findings imply that IL development involves some degree of internal analysis independent of external linguistic stimuli, lending credence to the treatment of interlanguages as independent of both the native and the target language. There also seems to be a threshold which must be reached before idiosyncrasies are perceived as errors to be reanalyzed and corrected.

Introduction: Definition of the Problem and a Possible Solution

According to Corder (1981), there is a need for "longitudinal studies of learners expressed in terms of sequential sets of their 'états de dialecte'" (p. 34). He proposes that "a description of the learner's 'état de dialecte' can be better achieved by a recognition that what he speaks is not an inadequate or incorrect form of the target language but a peculiar transitional idiolect, which should be approached in the same way as that of an infant or some unknown language" (p. 34).

He further states that "the well-formedness or otherwise of a learner's utterance is not the only criterion for establishing the presence of errors, but ... what is crucial is whether the normal target language interpretation of his utterance is appropriate

in the context" (p. 44). If we have access to the learner, the optimum method of ascertaining the intended meaning of a statement is to "ask him to say what he intended to say in his mother tongue and then translate into the target language" (p. 37). This is called an authoritative interpretation. The problem with authoritative interpretations is "deciding whether he produced the acceptable form by *chance* or by *design*. Only thorough familiarity with his knowledge of the language will enable us to decide" (p. 42).

With all of this in mind, it seems that the truly optimum method of describing the stages of an interlanguage (IL) and the development of learner competency toward the target language (TL) is one of self analysis and subsequent reanalysis. If we have the learner analyze his own data in IL1 from some previous time, and correct his own perceived errors to conform with his present IL2, we would simultaneously have textual data for longitudinal sets of IL stages, and intuitional data in the form of (self) grammaticality judgments. If we then mutually (on the part of the learner and the linguist) reanalyze both sets of data in conjunction with translations into the mother tongue (where deemed necessary), we would have not only authoritative reconstructions of learner intentions, but knowledge of whether acceptable forms have been produced by chance or design. We would also gain a fairly clear picture of learner competence, and an insight into the process of learning and the perception of what has been learned. The following paper is a small-scale attempt at carrying out such a self analysis and mutual reanalysis.

Methodology

The subject, who will be referred to as H, is a native German who has spoken English as a second language for over 25 years. H initially learned English in a classroom situation, and spoke English only in the classroom until 1985. From 1985 until October 1990 she spoke English in about half of her conversations at home and at work. Since October 1990, she has lived in America and essentially speaks English all the time. I would characterize her reading, writing and speaking skills as advanced/fluent.

The IL1 data is a letter written to me in 1987, in English, while the subject was on vacation. She was asked, in July 1990, to "correct any mistakes in her English" in this letter, and basically rewrite it in her present level of English. This is the IL2 data. Both were written without the aid of a dictionary or a native speaker.

The subject and I then compared the first two pages of IL1 and IL2 sentence by sentence, with regard to what was altered, why it was altered, and what the original intention of the sentence was. This provided the basis for my choice of what features of her IL to examine in this paper. Optimally, we would have gone through every page of both sets of data, but due to time constraints and the necessarily narrow scope of a short research paper, this was not attempted.

jeans for the rest of the week.
TL I'll have to wear the two sweatshirts and the one pair of jeans for the rest of the week.

(3)
IL1 - they start to dance downstairs ...
IL2 - they start to dance now downstairs ...
TL - they're starting to dance downstairs now ...

As stated above, these IL structures do not affect comprehensibility and are highly variable. Her IL1 sentence (2) may indicate that in 1987 H's IL did not include the English strict adjacency requirement, which prevents adverbs from appearing between verbs and their objects. Her IL2 correction specifically, and the variability of her word order in general with regard to adverbs, may indicate that she has recognized the strict adjacency requirement and is in the process of reanalyzing this feature of her IL.

Semantics

Some of the more interesting errors in H's English are so covert that they do not seem to be errors at all in the traditional sense, but they directly affect comprehensibility, and deserve mention. For instance, the phrase, *german made coffee* in the IL2 sentence *Ugly hotel next to ugly hotel, lots of hamburger stands, german made coffee, german Weizenbier a.s.o.*, would be understood by a native English speaker to mean German coffee, and even the translation into the mother tongue is *Deutscher Kaffee*. However, in the subject's IL, *German Coffee* would indicate the coffee beans, their origin, and/or the way the coffee is brewed, while *german made coffee* refers specifically to the way the coffee is brewed; in the German manner as opposed to the Turkish manner, etc. She is making a distinction in her English which is lost on the native listener. This is a failure in communication, and therefore an error.

She makes a related covert error in her use of the verb *do*. The functions of the verb *do* in the TL include its use as a main verb, an auxiliary verb, and as the dummy *do* used in negation and yes/no question formation. H uses *do* as a sort of modal carrying a sense of intensification of the verb, in addition to the regular TL functions of *do*.

While it is true that in English *do* can carry a sense of emphasis (in anticipation of opposition), H distinguishes between emphatic and intensive *do* through the use of word stress in her speech (italics mark emphatic stress):

I love you. - statement
I *do* love you. - emphatic
I do love you. - intensive
I don't love you. - negation

Reanalysis of the first two pages of IL1 and IL2 revealed a number of interesting (and many not so interesting) idiosyncrasies—or errors—in H's English. I would like to highlight some of the more interesting and consistent ones before moving on to my main focus.

Highlights of the Analysis

Lexicon

Most of the vocabulary errors appearing in the data are apparent fossilizations (see Selinker and Lakshmanan, in press) probably originating in interlingual identifications (see Weinreich, 1953, and Selinker, 1991). For instance, she uses the word *souper* throughout the data for the TL *supper*. This comes from the German cognate *Souper*, which is translated as *dinner* in English. A similar example is her spelling of the TL word *hundred* as *hundret* in the data, an obvious cognate to the German *hundert*, and probably the result of interlingual identification. Her spelling of *alcoholic* as *alkoholic* also comes from the German *alkoholisch*.

German/English cognates are a problem in her speech as well. *Sensible* is used for TL *sensitive* as a result of the German cognate *sensibel*. The word *psychology* (German *Psychologie*) has become almost unpronouncable in her English and her German. Her IL pronunciation varies somewhere in between [sai'kaledzi] and [psixolo'gi] (approximating standard English and Hochdeutsch pronunciations respectively). This variation occurs in her NL German as well, an example of backwash interference.

Syntax

A relatively minor, and by no means consistent, error that appears in both IL1 and IL2 has to do with adverbs and word order. Adverbs and adverbial phrases in German generally either introduce the sentence or follow the inflected verb they modify, and series of adverbs follow the sequence time-manner-place. H often follows these rules in her IL1 and IL2 data, which, while not affecting the comprehensibility of her utterances, does cause them to sound non-native, as in:

(1)

IL1 Back to Palma (the capital city) we went by train, made in 1912 by Siemens.

IL2 Back to Palma, the capital city, we got by a train made in 1912 by Siemens.

TL We went back to Palma, the capital city, on a train which was made in 1912 by Siemens.

(2)

IL1 So I will wear the rest of the week my 2 sweatshirts and the jeans.

IL2 I will have to wear the two sweatshirts and the one pair of

I do *not* love you. - emphatic negation
I do not love you. - intensive negation
I *don't* love you. - emphatic negation

Just as emphatics could be made more clear by introducing the sentence with *but*, the intensives could be made more clear by using the adverb *really*. I can find no parallel feature in German, so the likely origin of the intensive is intralingual identification with the emphatic. In any case, the two functions are distinct in H's IL. The intensive *do* definitely appears twice in IL1 and IL2, and is actually corrected to *really* once in IL2:

(4)

IL1	I bought me Bitter, a non-allkoholic drink I do like.
IL2	I bought Bitter, a non alkoholic drink I really like.
TL	I bought Bitter, a nonalcoholic drink I really like.

(5)

IL1	And I do get a big cold.
IL2	And I do get a big cold.
TL	And I'm catching a really big cold.

It is difficult to find other examples of this distinction in the data, since H was taught in school not to use contractions in writing, and since the English writing system does not usually reflect word stress. Even in speech, *I do love you* would be understood by the native speaker as a simple statement, and the intended distinction would be lost, once again causing failure in communicating intended meaning. Such an error would be difficult to detect, let alone correct, and the intensive *do* may permanently remain a feature of her IL as an apparent fossilization.

Main Focus: Relatives and the Sin of Omission

Another sort of covert, undetected, and uncorrected error occurs in her IL1 and IL2. This type of error is an omission which causes, if any, only minor detectable (overt) errors. My main focus in this paper is restrictive relative clauses introduced by overt relative markers, of which there is an almost total absence in the data. I am assuming that restrictive relative clauses modify some NP (hereafter referred to as the antecedent), and can be overtly introduced by relative pronouns such as *who* and *which*, or complementizers such as *that* (hereafter referred to collectively as the relative markers).

Out of approximately165 IL1 and approximately 161 IL2 sentences, there is only one restrictive relative clause introduced by a relative marker in IL1, and only two in the IL2 correction. The italicized strings of words are coindexed with their antecedent.

(6)
IL1 They also have *Bingo-Nights* here—*you love so.*
IL2 You know they have *bingo-nights* here too, *the one you love so mutch.*

(7)
IL1 It's a typical *place* (*I do absolut not like*) for tourist.
IL2 This is a typical touristy *place, the one I absoloutly do not like.*

(8)
IL1 He is between 60 and 70 years old and here to watch the *national race. That means hundret thousand people are jogging together.*
IL2 He is probably between 60-70 years old and he is here to watch the *'National Race'. Which is an event where thousands of people meet just to jog together.*

(9)
IL1 It amused me, nothing good beside a German *girl who danced the flamenco very well.*
IL2 It was very amusing. Nothing good besides a german *girl who danced the flamenco very well.*

None of these four sentences poses a great problem as far as interpretation of intended meaning is concerned, but only (9) is clear as to what sort of sentence structure was intended, and only (9) looks like a near-native sentence. It was only after careful inquiry that I was able to establish that (6), (7), and (8) contain relative clauses. I was able to establish that (8) and (9) contain relative pronouns, but the status of *the one* in (6) and (7) remained unclear. The relative markers *who*, *that*, and *which* in (8) and (9) are representative of the TL group of relative markers, but they are the only examples in the data. Without relative markers in the data, it was difficult to ascertain which, if any, of her other sentences contained relative clauses.

There are two likely reasons for so few relative markers (and so few relative clauses) appearing in her IL1 and IL2: (a) she is unable to form relative clauses, and (6)–(9) were produced by chance; (b) she is avoiding relative markers and/or relative clauses; or (c) both. The fact that she actually produced four relative clauses in the data, and produces relative clauses in her speech, all of which she produces by design, would rule out the former explanation. This leaves us with some variant on the avoidance theme as the probable analysis.

There were a number of constructions in her IL1 data which looked suspiciously similar to the IL1 constructions in (6)–(9), which actually were, or became, relative clauses in the IL2 constructions there. Also, in going through

the data with her, I found many constructions in both IL1 and IL2 which would correspond in meaning and intent to TL relative clauses. Of those, the following is a list of the sentences in which I was able to establish with any certainty that the suspected relative clauses were present and produced by design. The italicized strings of words are coindexed with their antecedents:

(10)
IL1 Have had already my first *day*. *It was not so bad.*
IL2 Have had already my first *day* and *it was not so bad at all*.

(11)
IL1 The place I am is called *St. Ponso* and *it is at the sea*.
IL2 The place here is called *St. Ponso, it is at the sea*.

(12)
IL1 When you go away from the crowded *places* at the coast *tourist prefer*, the Island is realy pretty.
IL2 When you stay away from the crowded *touristy places* the island is really pretty.

(13)
IL1 Back to Palma (the capital city) we went by *train, made in 1912 by Siemens*.
IL2 Back to Palma, the capital city, we got by a *train made in 1912 by Siemens*.

(14)
IL1 Now, I have an international fanclub an *english—shy*, an *french—charming*, a group of austrians an *swiss—loud* and not to forget the spanish—never, but unfortunately no arabian.
IL2 I have now an international fanclub; one *shy english*, a *charming frenchman*, a whole group of austrians, a *loud swiss*, these unnessessary spanish machos, but unfortunately no arabian.

(15)
IL1 I'm a really *woman—always freezing*.
IL2 I am a real *woman—I am always cold*.

(16)
IL1 I bought me Bitter, a non-alkoholic *drink I do like*.
IL2 I bought Bitter, a nonalkoholic *drink I really like*.

(17)
IL1 Probably it was the last *Brandy in bed.*
IL2 It was probably the last *brandy I had in bed.*

(18)
IL1 Because I still have no opener at the room I drank a *Brandy (I bought for home)* at bed and smoked a last cigarette.
IL2 Because I still have no opener at the room, I drank a *Brandy (I bought for home)* in bed and smoked a last cigarette.

(19)
IL1 But I have some *surprices* for you and Dingsda, *you will like it.*
IL2 But I have some *surprices* for you and Dingsda, *you will like it.*

We must ascertain exactly what H is avoiding before we can describe how and why she is avoiding it. In light of (10) through (19), it does not seem as though she is avoiding the relative clause construction in general (though this seems to be a tendency), since there are relative clauses conforming to the TL structure in (12), (16), (17), and (18). They lack only the relative marker, which is optional in these cases. In fact, none of the sentences in (10) through (19) contain a relative marker, which probably means that what she is specifically avoiding is relative markers.

If we assume that she is avoiding relative markers, there must be a finite number of substrategies used to attain this avoidance. She seems to have two main strategies:

R Varying stages of REDUCTION of the relative clause:
R-1 Dropping of the relative marker wherever optional
R-2 Dropping of the verb and formation of a postnominal modifier
R-3 Full reduction of the relative clause into an adjective

A ATTACHMENT of an independent clause after the main clause, with a pronoun (usually *it*) acting in place of an unmoved relative marker and modifying to a NP in the main clause.

In IL1, all strategies except *R-3* are represented: Attachment appears in (10), (11), and (19); *R-1* appears in (12), (16), and (18); and *R-2* appears in (13), (14), (15), and (17). The absence of strategy *R-3* in IL1 data does not necessarily mean that H was not using this particular strategy in 1987. She has informed me that she was not aware of the adjective *touristy* at that time. This would, of course, have prevented her from fully reducing the relative clause in (12). Any number of adjectives in the data could therefore be suspected of being fully reduced relative

clauses, but this would be pointless to pursue. In IL2, the strategies are distributed about evenly: Attachment appears in (10), (11), (15), and (19); *R-1* appears in (16), (17), and (18); *R-2* appears in (13); and *R-3* appears in (12) and (14).

Her corrections from IL1 to IL2 show a marked pattern of ordered preferences. Wherever a reduction strategy occurs in IL1, there is equal or greater reduction of the relative clause in IL2. There is one definite exception in (17), where strategy *R-2* is corrected to *R-1*. Her explanation is that *in bed* sounds odd to her when modifying *Brandy*, possibly indicating that the IL1 sentence was a mistake. There is another possible exception in (15), where *R-2* is corrected into *A* as the only case of strategy overlap. Her stated original intent was the sense *I am a typical female who is always freezing*. If we assume that her order of strategy preference begins with avoiding the marker of a relative clause, then the strategy overlap in (15) may imply that attachment is a sort of last resort strategy, which is used whenever a relative marker would be otherwise unavoidable.

Whenever the attachment strategy occurs in IL1 it also occurs in IL2, with no case of strategy overlap to the reduction strategy. There is a parallel to the reduction strategy in the preference for corrections: the attached clause is always equally or more closely attached to the main clause in IL2. A separate sentence gets attached by an *and* in (10), an *and* becomes a comma in (11), and (19) retains the same punctuation.

One salient characteristic common to the sentences containing an attached clauses in IL2 is that none of the attached clauses is reducible, and all of them would be obligatory contexts for a relative marker in the TL. This lends support to my conclusion that the attachment strategy is used as last resort in avoidance of relative markers.

Her strategy of avoidance could thus be summed up as: If the relative marker is optional, delete it. If the clause is reducible, reduce it as far as possible. This takes care of most of the relative clauses, and does so in a manner which conforms to TL standards. There is therefore no detectable or correctable error at this point. Those few relative clauses left untouched by this are formed as attached independent clauses. It is at this point that she departs from TL norms, and it is here that the error becomes overt, but still poses no problem in communication, except in (19), where it would be unclear to the native speaker whether the attached clause refers to the fact that H has surprises, or to the surprises themselves. This is a rather minor failure in communication of intended meaning.

Distribution of Markers in Relative Clauses

The question to be asked now is what (if any) are the relative markers in her IL2 repertoire. When I asked her which pronoun she would use in (10) through (19), if she had to use one of the choices *who*, *which*, or *that*, I got some interesting results.

Which is grammatical in (10), (11), (12), (13), (16), (17), (18), and (19), and conveys the intended meaning of her IL2 sentences. It is always optional, and she prefers to delete it or go back to IL2 structures. Except for the apparently obligatory deletion, *which* functions as it does in the TL.

Who is grammatical in (14), and (15), conveys the intended meaning of these IL2 sentences, and also seems to function as it does in the TL.

That is grammatical wherever *which* is grammatical but always changes the meaning of the sentence by not modifying any NP antecedent at all. *That* functions as a complementizer introducing a sentential complement. While *that* is also a complementizer in the TL, the fact that it is not treated as a relative marker in IL2 is a definite deviation from TL norms.

I would like to point out here that I nearly missed a pattern in the data, when I departed from the sentence by sentence method of mutual reanalysis. By taking (10) through (19) out of context and asking only for grammaticality judgments on word insertion, I was making the error of interpreting the meanings of her answers in terms of the TL and not H's IL. Through my preconceptions as a native speaker, I missed completely the fact that she was not using *that* as a relative marker at all. If H had not pointed out the fact that context is essential to her decision to use *which*, *that*, etc., this paper's conclusion would have been false.

That as a complementizer seems to function completely within the norms of the TL throughout the data. *Which*, on the other hand is not used as a complementizer in H's IL data, nor in her speech. The following is a list of sentences where *which* would be a grammatical option as a complementizer:

(20)

IL1 The weather is fine and I sit here in my bikini at the pool and for tan. *So did I yesterday.*

IL2 The weather is fine so I sit here in my bikini at the pool and wait for my suntan—*so I did yesterday.*

(21)

IL1 Oh, now the old ladies (and men) start with gym at the pool —*well it will be good for them.*

IL2 Oh, now the old ladies (and men) start with a gym at the pool —*well, it will be good for them.*

(22)
IL1 *So the have 'dance-tea' here and so on*, see a.m. bingonights etc.
IL2 *That is why they have 5 o'clock tea with dance* and the already mentioned bingo nights and who knows what else?

(23)
IL1 *So I spent time inside.*
IL2 *That is why I spent time inside.*

(24)
IL1 *You would like it*, I saw lots of sheeps, but no shephard.
IL2 *You would like it too*: I saw lots of sheeps, but no shephard.

(25)
IL1 And during thinking of you I fell in sleep—*I hope you didn't.*
IL2 While thinking of you I fell asleep—*hope you did not.*

(26)
IL1 I blow my nose and snuff, *you will like it.*
IL2 I blow my nose and sniffle—*you will like it tomorrow.*

When asked what complementizer she would choose, given the choices *that* or *which*, to introduce the underlined clause, these were her choices: *That* is used in (20) *that's what I did yesterday*, (22) *that is why*, (23) *that is why*, and *what* is used in (21) *what might be good for them*, (24) ...*what you would like*, (25) *what I hope you didn't*, (26) *what you will like.*

She explains that *that's what/why* is a phrase, and sounds better than *which is what/why*. During the interview, H used the word *what* as a complementizer. It does not appear in the data, but is a feature of her speech. The *what* complementizer carries the same meaning as the TL complementizer *which*, and seems to have replaced it. *Which* seems to be the main target of H's avoidance strategies in relative clauses. She has no trouble producing clauses introduced by *who*. *Who* appears in her IL1 and IL2 and does not seem the target of avoidance. *That* is no longer a relative marker in her IL, leaving *which* as the only logical target for avoidance.

Special Cases

The relative clauses in (6), (7), and (8) still require explanation. Why does she produce these three relative clauses, when she successfully avoids such constructions elsewhere? We must assume that in these cases the avoidance strategy fails for some reasons, making these special cases.

In sentence (6), H uses strategy *R-1* in her IL1 data in response to the required relative clause. She explains her IL2 correction by saying that the IL1 sentence does not convey her intended sarcastic meaning, (instead, it indicates to her that I actually love bingo nights). She gives the reason for this as "there needs to be an extra connection in there." Assuming that her response in IL2 to the required relative clauses would be the last resort attachment strategy *A*, something like *You know they have bingo nights here too, you love them so much* would have been produced, which would not have conveyed the intended meaning, either. Since a relative clause is required by the context, and since that clause is not reducible, she has no other choice than to produce a relative clause.

In sentence (7), she uses strategy *R-1* as well in IL1. In IL2 she has learned the adjective *touristy*, which leaves the clause *I absolutely do not like (them)* attached to the end of the main clause, as if it were strategy *A*. She explains that for her IL2 this sentence does not convey her intended meaning, since it leaves open the possible interpretation that what she doesn't like is the fact that it is a touristy place, when she means she doesn't like this type of place. Once again there is an extra connection missing. Since a relative clause is once again required by the context, and since that clause is not reducible, she must produce a relative clause.

In both cases she produces relative clauses introduced by *the one,* the "extra connection," which refers to *nights* in (6) and *place* in (7), and is very specific in pointing out the referent. It seems to function the same as it does in the TL, except that there is no singular/plural distinction, and it may be an unanalyzed chunk.

The one is probably not a relative marker in IL2, since it may be followed by *which*. It may also be replaced by *which*, but H would not use *which* by itself here. *Which* is always deletable, and this deletion would return us to the original problem of inadequately conveyed meaning. *The one which* could introduce these clauses, but she warns me that this is a construction with a very restricted usage, carrying a sense of pointing out one from a group, and also implies previous mention of the antecedent in the context.

Sentence (8) seems to be a special case as well. H explains that she definitely intended to form a separate sentence beginning with *which* in the IL2, because the preceding sentence containing the antecedent was already too long. She used *which* to introduce the new sentence because it is more clearly in reference to *National Race*, which she felt was a vague term and wanted to clarify. *That means* did not refer clearly enough to *Race*, and she is not sure why she used it in IL1.

In other words, she used strategy *A*, producing an independent clause in IL1. *That* may have still been used as a relative marker in IL1, but since she clearly does not use it in that function in IL2, she was compelled to correct this error, using the IL2 relative marker *which*. She could not have used *the one* here, since that would

have indicated *this race*, as opposed to *the other races*. She did offer the option of starting the sentence with *It means...*, which would have been more in keeping with her strategy of avoidance.

Conclusions

H seems to be avoiding the use of the relative marker *which*. Because this pronoun has taken over the functions of the relative marker *that*, this avoidance strategy wipes out almost all relative clauses in her IL2. If I am right, then IL3 might well have no restrictive relative clauses at all, except for the rare special case, which may become even more rare as H's strategies become more efficient. The interesting thing to note is how little all of this affects her comprehensibility, a fact which will hinder any motivation to reanalyze this structure.

Not everything in the self analysis/mutual reanalysis method is on the pro side of the tally. Some of the cons are potentially major obstacles. After a long period of time (four years in this case), some amount of the subject's original intentions will inevitably be forgotten. While this could, for the most part, be factored out by having the subject point out lapses in memory where they occur, there will always be some unnoticed loss of information.

Another con is that this method requires perfect candidness on the part of the subject, a factor which cannot be controlled. While that was not a major factor for this paper, since the subject is a longtime friend and was not concerned whether her answers would conform to TL norms, it is quite conceivable that in a free flow analysis like this a subject would give false information when unsure whether his IL match TL rules. Related to this is the fact that the IL2 data might be considered by some to be elicited data. Spontaneous data is usually more revealing than elicited data, due to the fact that there is often some amount of overcorrection and avoidance of certain constructions when subjects are aware that their language is being scrutinized.

This aside, there is one factor in this data which I feel is very important and needs to be addressed. That is the role of the mother tongue in the analysis of ILs and the usefulness of translations. For an upper level learner, translating an IL utterance into the mother tongue is no longer a simple matter. At an earlier stage, the IL may be heavily reliant on the mother tongue, but advanced ILs are independent systems of expression in my opinion. H was already "thinking in English" (to use her own expression) in 1987, and the IL2 corrections were much easier for her than translation into German. She can translate a given utterance to provide the intended meaning, or she can transliterate to give the intended structure, but she cannot do both. Her translations from IL to mother tongue are,

while grammatical, not good German; they do not reflect her natural way of expressing herself in German. She would use different sentence structures and idioms when writing to a native German.

In other words, for the advanced L2 learner, the IL and the mother tongue are two independent systems of expression, and should only be referred back to themselves if what we want is a true sense of what is being said, because meanings and intentions become English or German. It is mainly for this reason that I have not relied on translations and authoritative reconstructions in this paper.

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"Right-throughs, Rings, and Taws:" Marbles Pitching Terminology in Trinidad and Tobago

Lise Winer and Hans E.A. Boos

Marble games, or *pitch*, perhaps the most widely played of all traditional boys' games in Trinidad and Tobago, have declined precipitously in the last two decades. This paper documents close to 200 marbles terms found in Trinidad and Tobago English Creole. Although most are British in origin, there are East Indian, French Creole, and possible African influences on this lexicon. An analysis of the discourse of marbles talk in its sociocultural context was prompted by its strong positive affect for men who played pitch as boys. Using frameworks from the sociology of games and from studies in language and gender, marbles talk is shown to demonstrate features of masculine gender-linked use of language and games, including highly elaborated rules and strategies, and competitive and confrontational use of language.

Marble games, generally known as *pitch*, used to be perhaps the most widely played of all traditional boys' games played in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). In recent years, however, marble playing has declined in popularity, and the games and their rich vocabulary are dying out. The purpose of this paper is to discuss terms associated with marbles in T&T, and to assess their socio-cultural importance, particularly as part of socialization into gender-related styles of discourse.

Marble terms in T&T were gathered as part of work on a historical dictionary of the English/Creole of T&T (Winer, in preparation), and come from several sources: (a) an extensive local survey (Ashby, 1981) based on oral interviews throughout Trinidad and across age groups; (b) a segment on marble pitching from "Gayelle," a local magazine-type television program (Banyan, 1985); (c) novels, poems, and memoirs of childhood (Araujo, 1984; Inniss, 1910, 1932; Keens-Douglas, 1975; McDonald, 1969; Narine, 1979; Pires, 1991); (d) the extensive personal experience of one of the authors (Boos) as a native Trinidadian marbles player; (e) written and telephone responses to a request for information in local newspapers; and (f) a number of oral interviews in Trinidad and Tobago with men mostly between the ages of 50 and 75. (Unattributed quotations in the text are from these latter three sources.) Although there is no claim for completeness of this marble lexicon, it seems unlikely that there will be a significant number of additions.

Marble vocabulary has received considerable attention in England and the United States (e.g., Cassidy, 1958; Combs, 1955; Ferretti, 1973; Harder, 1955; Sackett, 1962). Researchers have all found heavy attrition in modern marble playing and terminology:

> This picturesque slang has many dozens of terms used nowhere else in any language. Phrases like *fen sidings*, *dubs*, and *tribs* ... were known and used by American children during the late 19th and early 20th century, but have since largely faded from usage. (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 7)

This is certainly true for T&T, often making it impossible to determine the precise definition or distribution of a term:

> With the disappearance of such marbles as "kodens", "kiaws", and "bone agates" these terms are known only by the older speakers and are no longer used since their referents are not used. (Ashby, 1981, p. 7)

Marble terms vary to some extent by locality and by generation. The most important regional difference in T&T appears to be between *South*—the area right in and around San Fernando—and the rest of the country, including Tobago. (No attempt is made here to denote regional usage differences systematically.)

Marble History

Small balls, usually about a half inch in diameter, made of clay, stone, ceramic or glass, are one of the oldest and most widespread games in the world. Their origin is prehistoric—clay and stone marbles have been found in caves in Europe, in burial mounds of Indians in Mississippi, and in China. Throughout Africa, small stones are tossed rapidly and successively into a series of holes. In Europe, marbles are known from a 14th century French manuscript, and an English game from at least 1450 (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 9). Marbles came to colonial North America with the British, French, and Dutch (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 9). The pervasive British influence on marbles playing in T&T doubtless first came with the children of the British planters and other colonists.

In modern times, Germany was virtually the only major manufacturer of stone and glass marbles until about 1900, when glass marbles were produced in quantity in the U.S. (Ferretti, 1973, p. 32). Machine-made marbles were dominant by the 1920s, but by the late 1930s, demand was beginning to slow down; foreign imports again appeared in the early 1950s, with the Japanese Cat Eye marble (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 10).

Adult collectors have a strong interest in marbles; rare specimens can trade for thousands of dollars apiece in the U.S. (Dickson, 1988, pp. 101–102; Randall & Webb, 1988). But many older players have lamented the decline in true popularity of marbles, as well as other traditional children's games (e.g., Cassidy, 1958, pp.

19–22). Despite official tournaments organized in the United States, for example, Ferretti (1973) notes that "the spontaneous, unsupervised, catch-as-catch-can marbles games we once played exist only in our memories" (p. 23).

Marbles were popular partly because of their relatively low cost, and because games are easily set up, taking into account local circumstances—from rough pavements to snow banks (Ferretti, 1973, pp. 80–81, 129). An Australian memoir noted that in the 1860s, "the footpaths belonged to the small boys as much as to the city council, and they had no compunction in digging their 'nuck' holes wherever they wanted to play" (Verco, quoted in Ferretti 1973, p. 25). In T&T, as in most places, marbles games are seasonal:

> Pitching is mainly played by school-age children and like kite-playing is seasonal. During the months of January to June—the Dry Season—marbles appear to be one of the more common games played. (Ashby, 1988, p. 11)

Types of Marbles

Some names for marbles indicate their particular function in a game. Perhaps the oldest and most consistently known term is *taw* (*tor*) 'large or choice marble used to shoot at other marbles, rarely parted with or betted' (< English idem.). Any marble in the ring is a *dooz* (?< Trinidad and Tobago English Creole *doos* < French Creole 'sweet, easy'). A chipped marble is a *falsy* (< E *false*); no terms were found to indicate deliberate roughening of the marble's surface.

The targets and items played for can be marbles, or other items. Often used were shiny black *tambran* 'tamarind' seeds, *jumbie beads* or *crab eyes*—the bright red and black seeds of *Abrus precatorius*, and *soap seed*—the soapy hard round seed of *Sapindus saponaria*; *cogs* or *crown corks* 'cork liners' from bottles of *sweet drink* 'carbonated soft drink,' beer, etc.; small smooth round river stones; and buttons. The commonest of these were *khakis*, khaki-colored buttons taken from shirts or the flies of the pre-zipper khaki short pants worn by school boys:

> In a circle drawn in the dust were scattered white, blue, and red buttons. Anybody knocking a button out of the ring with his marble could keep that button. For the village boys buttons were as precious as coins ... As I came up I saw a fellow hit a mother-of-pearl button, worth five 'khakis', out of the ring from over a yard away ...They all had their eye on a gilt button lying right in the centre, half-covered by dust ... it was worth at least a dozen 'Khakis.' (McDonald, 1969, pp. 70–71)

Even if buttons or stones were used as targets, the taw was always some type of marble or ball-bearing:

> He was using a keow. One of his opponents was using a shiny steel ball-bearing and the other a white crystal taken from an old soda-water bottle. (McDonald, 1969, pp. 71)

Names for types of marbles based on physical characteristics may be applied to different marbles in different areas or by different generations of children (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 7). Plain or painted clay marbles are the most basic and widespread of traditional marbles, their long-lived popularity probably due to their low cost. The most common "real" marble in T&T was the *koden*, made from the local *white clay* (actually grey) and fired in a kiln. These were brittle, and broke easily, but were cheap: "A shop on Erthig Road which sold marbles would let us have ten codens and two agates for the six cents" (Araujo, 1984, reminiscing about the 1930s). Sometimes boys tried to pass off a koden as a more valuable *keeow* (see below) by rubbing it carefully in dry laundry blue or on a blue copybook cover. Poorer children might be scorned for playing with such low-status materials:

> Boy, where yuh learn to play marble? dis is town yu know, We play with no river stone, No cudden neither. Is strictly glassy, agate, keeow. (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 43)

In the old days, glass marbles could sometimes be obtained from marble-stoppered bottles (Ingram, 1972, p. 19)[1], as in this passage about the 1930s:

> Whenever we got our hands on a sweet drink bottle ... we would break it ... and extract the glass ball, which then became your crystal taw. The only problem with them was that when your opponent was using an iron taw, you had to "chinks" a lot out of his way, since a fiercely pitched iron taw could shatter a "crystal." (Araujo, 1984)

These *crystals*, also known as *water crystals*, were usually clear or light-green in color. In the post-World War II period, imported crystals, somewhat larger, in different colors but usually clear and transparent with a green tinge, became available. They were sometimes called *cent* or *penny* marbles from their price.

Steel ball bearings about 1.5cm in diameter became popular as taws in the U.S. and T&T during World War II.[2] They are known as *balls bearing*, *doodle* (?< E 'to deceive'), *doogle* (?< E *doodle*, or *doogs* 'number of marbles risked in a game'), *google*, *iron doodle*, *iron doogle*, *iron google*, *iron tetay* (?< FC *tete* 'woman's breast'), *ironise*, *slug*, and *slugs*. They are often favored by poorer pitchers because of their blasting power (Ferretti, 1973, p. 106); they are unbreakable and dangerous:

> Partner, we dont play with no doogle, Dat is not real marble, Dat is balls-bearing ... Yu want to mash up people taw? (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

> The crystal ... [was] easy prey for the 'iron googles' (or wheel bearing slugs) that were used by the more aggressive players who often time broke up (smashed) your gentler marbles.

Many of the marble types and terms widely known in the U.S. appear to have had virtually no use in T&T. An *agate* in T&T is usually purple-blue or spotty blue in color. It is never called *aggie*, as in the U.S. and U.K., where *agates* or *aggies* are made from semi-precious agate stone of layered colors, usually browns and reds. Many of the more common U.S. marbles such as *swirls* and *slags* (Ingram, 1972), or less common ones such as *sulphides* (with figures inside) or comic picture marbles, appear to be unknown, labeled quite differently, or minimal modern imports.

Most T&T names for marble types are derived from English and TEC words. There is strikingly little U.S. influence, and such common terms as *alleys* and *commies* are not used. Local terms include *glassy*, an opaque white glass or porcelain-like marble with patches or streaks of color in it; *crystal agate* or *Chinee agate*, a clear marble with two or three stripes in the center; and *snake eye*, or more commonly *veiny*, an opaque glassy porcelain marble, white or shell-pink in color, with thin veins of color running through it. The common modern marble known elsewhere as *cat's eye*—clear glass with color blades inside—is called locally a *cherry-seed crystal*, from its resemblance to the flanged seed of the West Indian cherry, *Malpighia punicifolia*.

Keeow (*keow*, *kiaow*) (?< French *caillou* 'pebble') usually refers either to a white opaque glass or porcelain marble with red or blue design. A *big-keeow* is a matte grey marble with a blue streak. A *keke* [keke] is a solid white marble. Ashby (1981, p. 14) describes *bone agates* as marbles of opaque colors, sometimes variegated. The *big mook* [mUk] (TEC *mook* 'solid blow or hit') or *big-goonks* (*big unks*) (cf. U.S. *goonger* 'an especially big marble' Cassidy, 1958, p. 34) is a larger than normal glass marble, bigger than a crystal, about 3cm in diameter, usually milky-white, opaque, with streaks of color in the outer surface. A less common term, possibly fairly recent, is *jacks-eye* (?< TEC *jacks*, several species of fish, or ?< E *one-eyed jacks*, in cards) for a very small, solid, colored marble, like those used for Chinese checkers.

As elsewhere (Gomme, 1894, p. I:364; Ferretti, 1973, p. 50), different types of marbles have relative values for trading or compensation. In T&T, for example, a keeow might be worth two kekes, or two or three crystals, depending on size. Such values fluctuate with availability of marbles and funds, and local traditions.

Types of Marbles Games

The general term for any marbles game is *pitch*, as in "Dey playin pitch in de road." The origin of this term is probably English *pitch* 'to throw so as to fall in or near a definite place,' although to *pitch* is not a throw or toss, but a forceful moving of the marble, held in the crook of the forefinger, propelling it forward by strongly

and sharply flicking the thumb against it. The name for the game may also be related to or convergent with the very common and long-standing Trinidad and Tobago English Creole *pitch* 'asphalt.'

> Some of the better games were played on the 'pitched' areas of schoolyards and roadways. The pitch would get soft in the hot sun, and a hole could be made by spinning on a heel to make a depression for each hole, and rings or bounce could easily be scribed in the soft pitch. It was due to this smooth pitching surface that the ability to 'spin' the marble to control its roll and to make it circle a hole was needed to win. Also back spin could allow you to hit an opponent and reverse direction to 'pot' the desired hole.

Marble games are sometimes identified according to the item played for, as in *ups kabat*, in which jumbie beads are used (Ashby, 1981, p. 23); *button win*, in which buttons are targets and are won or lost; and *kaks for bokee*, in which players place their marbles at random; each player then tries to hit another's marble, and the player whose marble is hit gets a bokee penalty (see below).

However, games are generally called a specific name according to configuration, as in "Leh we play rings." Marble games comprise several types:

> chase games in which two or more players alternately shoot at each other along a makeshift meandering course; enclosure games in which marbles are shot at other marbles contained within a marked-off area; and hole games in which marbles are shot or bowled into a successive series of holes. (Ferretti, 1973, p. 21)

There are also "bounce" games, in which the taw is shot directly or indirectly at one marble, without any other defining elements, and racing games in which competitors' marbles leave the starting line at the same time. The following game types are found in T&T (other cited terms are explained below).[3]

Chase Games

Chase is a game usually played on the way home from school. Each pitch is aimed at the direction of home, thus allowing slow progress home as players follow the marbles, stopping to pitch from the end of each roll. There is generally no penalty, the game's purpose being to "sharpen your skills, to show off, and to go home slowly."

Enclosure Games

All such games in T&T are played in a fairly small ring and/or in relation to one line or two parallel lines. *Rings* is always played with a ring about 18 inches in diameter. Usually, each player puts two marbles (or buttons) into the ring, and with the taw tries to knock them out of the ring, when they are then kept. When there is only one marble left in the ring, and the shooter is sure to get it, he need not shoot, but just place a second marble in the ring as his *ante*. The other players

ante-up by putting in two marbles, and another game starts. In rings, you must knock out a marble and your taw must also leave the ring but remain close to the line to be in position to knock another out. Four or five can play, each player betting one or two marbles each, and keeping what he wins. Competition in rings, almost always played *for self* 'to keep winnings,' is usually intense:

> All three [boys] were fiercely in earnest. The best object in the game was to hit an opponent's marble because then all the buttons left in the ring came to that marksman. (McDonald, 1969, p. 71)

Nearest line is played two main ways. In the first, two lines are drawn some four or five meters apart. (The rules established before the game only apply to the area between the two lines.) Marbles are *beaded* on the second line, with the players trying to hit the targets by throwing from the *bounce*. In the second variant, only one line is drawn, with players trying to *bead* their marbles by *bouncing*.

Lerkee (Narine, 1979, p. 9) is a type of rings, but is unusual in two respects. First, it is the only term which seems to be clearly Indian in origin. Second, although it can be played by individuals, it is the only marbles game regularly played with partners or sides. A side, usually consisting of four players, arranges their marbles in the ring and designates players on the other side to target each marble (the weakest players are required to make the most difficult shots).

Hole Games

Holes are smoothed out in the ground by turning on your heel. Games with more than one hole always have them arranged in a straight line, about 18–24 inches apart. In *one-hole*, marbles are played from the starting line or the last play position to the single hole. Each potting of the hole is scored at 10 points and the first player to reach 100 wins.

Three-hole and *Seven-hole* are variants of the same game. Three holes are smoothed out in the ground, by turning on your heel, about 18–24 inches apart. Hole 3 is at the bounce, followed at intervals—usually a *pace*—by hole 2 and hole 1. The sequence must be completed by potting holes in order: 1-2-3 for three-hole, and 1-2-3-2-1-2-3 for seven-hole. The potting of the last hole makes a winner. If a player misses a hole, he relinquishes his turn. If a marble goes into the wrong hole, out of sequence, the player loses the game. In seven-hole, the direction of play is referred to as *going up* (3-2-1) or *going down* (1-2-3).

Hundred-hole is a type of three-hole in which the first player to make 100 points wins. A player gets 10 points for potting a hole (i.e., getting the marble into it), or for hitting an opponent's marble. To win, hole 3 must be potted to make 100. If you miss this hole and go over the bounce, you get 100, but if the next player pots the hole for his 100, he wins, even though you got to 100 "first."

In his reminiscences of the 1840s, Innis (1910, p. 84; 1932, p. 26) describes *bloché*, called *blochay* or *bloshay* in Trinidad and *zip-zap-zabat* in Tobago. It is often played with cashew nuts, although marbles may be used. A hole is made, usually in the ground but sometimes in a tree or wall. One player holds two nuts and requests two more, then throws them in the hole. If all go in he wins; if two go in and two out he also wins. If three go in and one doesn't he loses. With more than four, they must be all in, or even in and even out, for a win; an odd number loses. The manner of the game—throwing things into holes—may be more commonly African than European; the name *bloshay* may be French Creole derived from French *bloquer* 'to fill holes in a wall' or an (as yet undetermined) Latin American Spanish game.

Bounce Games

Bounce and ex is a game in which you pitch your marble against a wall, making it bounce back to fall within an *ex* (hand-span) of the opponent's marble in order to win it.

Zopanex involves placing a marble on the ground and dropping or pitching another marble onto it from a high *ups* in order to capture or smash the marble on the ground.

Race Games

Racing marble can only be played where there are hilly roads, as in San Fernando. Marbles are lined up at a starting position, usually in a dry drain, and allowed to roll downhill to see which one reaches a given target first or goes farther.

Games Set-ups, Rules, Tactics, Evaluations, and Penalties

Marbles games are often highly localized in nature: "One man's rules are another's discards, and structure in Surrey is ridiculous in Wheeling" (Ferretti, 1973, p. 56). In T&T, boys who spent holidays with relatives, or moved from one area to another, frequently found their normal plays ridiculed or disallowed. Although there are widely accepted conventions of marble play—for example that a player who fails to achieve his objective of either potting a hole or hitting another player's marble must yield his turn—complexity and potential conflict between different rules, and choice of whether or not certain rules are invoked, mean that the rules themselves can become a central part of the game: "Much of the effort in [U.S.] marbles games is devoted to making up and enforcing the ad hoc regulations for the various games" (Ferretti, 1973, p. 63).

There is little negotiation of rules amongst players who regularly play together, although an individual play might provoke a rule citation, sometimes argument. Nonetheless, particularly with new players, much of the conversation during games revolves around elaborate rules, including recapitulations and explanations:

> No ups, no downs, no chinks in holes, no fens, and you're allowed the normal game, you can fats, you go back to bounds, if you get dab you go back to bounds and you remain in the game. Your share in the ring is three, and if you dab or shut a man, you would entitle to take out three marbles out of the ring. (Banyan, 1985)

> Yu self ehn hear me say fen-hikes an no everys? An wha yu brushing dat dust for, Yu ehn hear me say fen-brush? (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

> If your marble could knock my marble out of the hole I did chinks it then the game is digs-een digs-out ... I digs een my marble, you have to digs it out.

Foreseeing opponents' possible strategies and establishing dominance of your own rules before others put you at a disadvantage is crucial, and a quick eye for strategic tactics is essential.[4]

> It required good tactics to get close to the ring yet avoid coming too near to an enemy's marble. The three played warily, judging angles and distances. (McDonald, 1969, p. 71)

> In my old neighborhood in Yonkers, New York, a marbler had about a dozen prescriptive shouts he could use, and a fast lip was almost as important as a skilled thumb. (Dickson, 1988, p. 97)

Quite often one boy, an older player, is tacitly given the role of judge, based on his age, skill or experience in knowing how to interpret the rules in his turf. It is important to judge when someone has broken a rule:

> Partner yu bringsing, Like yu hand have foot, How it moving up so? (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

> Dont hustle, yu cant butards yet, My play still, an he before yu, Yu tink country people stupid? (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

Judgments are often contested:

> Never mind dat, yu 'fat'. How yu mean [ah] 'fat,' yu blind or wha'? De marble naturally outside de ring. (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

> Because ah lae lae up close yuh grinding? Is not tips we playing yu know, De way all yu grow yu finger nail Tank god is not up an x, or ah bus.' (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

During attempts to enforce rules, some bullying and *advantaging* (TEC 'taking advantage of') smaller boys may take place.

> Shut yu mout' when ah pitching, yu hear? Yu want to give me goat mout', eh? An making dumb sign eh go help allyu, Like allyu playing pard on me head. (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44)

Game Set-ups

Although there is general agreement on how games are set up, there is a certain amount of flexibility about distances, etc. Players sometimes negotiate set-ups: "How come de rolls-up so far? Is ah cricket pitch allyu have here?" (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 44). The following section describes typical procedures and conventions of preparing for games in T&T.

ante One of the relatively few marble terms taken from adult gambling terms, and not common in T&T. It is usually used in rings; each player first puts two marbles into the ring and tries to knock them out of the ring, when they are then kept. When only one marble is left in the ring, and the pitcher is sure to get it, he need not shoot, but just place a second marble in the ring as his ante. The other players ante up by putting in two marbles each, and another game starts.

bank Depository of extra marbles not in current play.

banker Person who keeps extra marbles and gives them out on the owner's order.

beads; bounce *v* To toss or drop a marble onto the BOUNCE or starting line in order to determine the order of players. The closest to the line goes first; others follow in order of distance. If a marble is on the line, you can drop your marble on top of it to knock it off, hoping your own will be closer. In hole games the line is drawn through the diameter of one end-hole.

bombay, plumbay (TEC 'female pubic mound' ?< Timne *a-bombo* 'female pudenda, pubic region') 1: A low mound of earth on which the opponent's marble is placed so that it can be hit more easily 2: A low mound of earth or the closed fist of the non-shooting hand used to pitch from.

bounce *v* See BEADS.

bounce; bounds; bouncing line; boundary; lines *n* The starting line, the line from behind which the marble is pitched to start; the line that marks the border of the area of the game in which rules apply.

hole A small shallow hole in the ground, usually scraped out with the heel, for games like THREE-HOLE.

lines See BOUNCE *n.*

pitch *n* 1: The area of ground marbles are played on 2: Any marble game involving pitching.

pitch; play pitch; pitch marble *v* 1: To propel one's marble by placing it in the crook of the forefinger and flicking it out with the thumb 2: To play any marbles game involving pitching.

pitcher; shooter The person currently pitching.

plumbay See BOMBAY.

rings A small circle, usually about 18 inches in diameter, in which the marbles are placed in rings games.

rolls-up The distance from the BOUNCE to the RING.

shooter See PITCHER.

down taw, downs taw A command shouted to an opponent whose TAW has slipped from his hand while playing, to leave his marble on the ground and thus prevent him from re-playing, or to guarantee that his taw remains a good target.

fat, fart (< E adj. *fat* 'of a marble, remaining in the ring') *v* Of a TAW, to remain in the ring after knocking out one of the target marbles. When this happens, the player is out of the game entirely, can miss a turn, or can BUTTARDS without missing a turn.

fen slips Shouted by a player whose TAW has slipped from his hand in order to prevent someone from claiming DOWN TAW.

for keeps; for self Game in which all the marbles knocked out of the ring belong to the successful player.

for self See FOR KEEPS.

friendlies; not for self A friendly game in which players return to the original owner(s) all the marbles they have hit out of the ring.

handle taw; taw ped Shouted to a player who touches his marble before his turn. He is allowed to put one marble in the ring and return to bounce.

hops; obs (E *obstruction* or *obstacle*) Complaint that another player is obstructing play, enabling the player to PITCH again in another direction.

manos manos (TEC 'one-on-one competition, game, bet' < Spanish *mano a mano* 'hand to hand') A marble competition with only two players.

not for self See FRIENDLIES.

obs See HOPS.

play pard, play paid To cheat by cooperating with another player.

punt To stake your TAW as a guarantee when you CROAKS but wish to remain in the game. If you do not hit out a marble from the ring, you must surrender your TAW.

set (E *set up* 'stake, give amount to start up') To lend marbles to a player who is CROAKS. If the player does not win any marbles, he will have to surrender his TAW to his guarantor.

slips A misplay in which the shooting marble falls from the player's hand and the player can try to claim the right to reshoot.

taw ped See HANDLE TAW.

ten Points awarded to a player each time he pots a hole or hits his opponent's marble in hole games.

talalines (? E *taw line* 'line towards which marbles are rolled to determine order of shooting or from which marbles are shot towards the ring') *v* Of a pitched marble, to stop on the line of the circle, and therefore be out of play.

up taw, ups taw Shouted to a player who plays out of turn, possibly costing him his turn or even his game.

Claims and Advantages

dou-screw million down Shouted in a hole game, when your opponent pots the wrong hole in sequence, thereby reserving the right to knock his marble out of the hole from the rim position by as many turns as it takes. However, if your opponent can shout "ups" or "one up" before you can shout this, you have to attempt to knock his marble out of the hole with one shot from the UPS position.

downs Shouted by an opponent to ensure that you pitch from the position where your last turn left you, and that you can claim no alteration to your status.

everys Agreement reached before the start of a game establishing right of players to ask for any advantage they want, or shouted by a player before his turn to allow himself to take any move or advantage which may be of benefit to him.

falses Shouted to claim any extra marbles another player might have inadvertently placed in the ring.

fen, fain, fens, fenzen, venzen (E idem, ?< *defend*) Used in a phrase to claim the right to carry out a particular tactic or invoke the right to a rule, e.g., **fens-up** Used to ask permission to use an UPS. Also a game in which you can FEN whatever is appropriate. With *no*, e.g., *no fens-up*, it prevents a claim for that rule or maneuver.

fen-brush To reserve the right to clear away any obstacles, e.g., pebbles, in front of a marble to ensure a better chance of a hit.

fen dooskoo (*fen* + ?*dou-screw*) To claim the option to move a marble from an unfavorable position.

fen downs To opt to pitch from a DOWN or DOWNS position at a point where it is traditional to pitch from an UPS position. For example, when you have inadvertently gone across BOUNCE in the game of THREE-HOLE, you usually have to pitch from an UPS, but if you have a better chance to hit an opponent from a DOWNS you can say "fen downs" or "fen draws" to get as near as possible to the position of the opponent's marble.

fen draws To ask to move laterally, usually along the bounce line, i.e., to take a DRAWS or DOWNS.

fen everys See FEN NO FENS.

fen hike To claim the right to PITCH by resting the marble on top of your other hand, in a fist, placed on the ground, to provide a higher place to pitch from, i.e., HIKES, CUPS ON KNUCKS, UP ON KNUCKS.

fen no Used in a phrase before any advantage has the effect of disallowing it. If a player can anticipate or predict a move that his opponent may wish to make he can either shout "fen no + (specific advantage)" or "nothing" before the turn, thus not allowing the opponent to take that advantage. This can be established before the start of the game, or told to a player about to play.

fen no fens; fen everys Reserves all rights to the person saying it before someone else prohibits these rights by declaring FEN NOTHINGS.

fen ups, fenzen ups To ask for or claim the right to take an UPS, to pitch from an UPS position, when the usual position to pitch is from a DOWNS, or crouching.

knucks in Shouted to a player whose marble is in a spot where it would be awkward for the player to play, e.g., against a wall or behind an obstacle, forcing him to play in that position, preventing him from claiming the advantage of KNUCKS OUT.

knucks out, knuck out Shouted by a player immediately before his turn so that he can remove his marbles from an awkward or disadvantageous position.

leaves Called when you KAKS an opponent but want to have as many marbles to aim at as possible in the ring, so that marble is left in.

nothing, nothings Prohibits anyone from claiming any rights or advantages.

one up A prohibition to other players, from a player at a disadvantage whose marble was in the wrong hole, in order to prevent them from claiming other advantageous privileges by shouting "dou screw million down," thus the request for one up limiting the penalty to only one shot at the marble in the wrong hole.

rattles and cannon To claim points if you hit your opponent's marble more than once in one shot, due to rebounds off objects or corners, or hitting two opponents' marbles on a CANNON SHOT.

right throughs Shouted by a player before his turn allows him to keep all the marbles he has hit out of the ring, as well as claim points for any opponent's marbles which have been indirectly hit.

right-through, right throughs; rings and taws Shouted before pitching in RINGS when you intend to roll your marble through the field of play and keep anything you hit, including your opponent's TAW.

shakes mine Shouted to claim a HIT when a marble is not actually hit but did *shake* as a result of the TAW brushing away part of the BOMBAY.

stands See UPS.

up, ups; stands Advantage asked for to allow player to stand and PITCH instead of stoop as is normally done.

Tactics and Moves[5]

bitta (E *bittas* 'mark to be toed, starting point in leaping or playing') A type of extension to enable player to reposition his marble, the length from elbow to tip of little finger when the hand is spread.

braps, bramps (TEC *braps* to describe something sudden, sharp, direct, e.g. a fall or blow); **dab** (E 'to strike softly'); **zop** (sound of direct hit) *v* To hit another marble directly *n* A direct hit of one marble by another.

brings, bringzay (TEC *brings* 'to bring forward, move up) *v* To cheat by moving the shooting marble slightly forward before shooting.

bringsin, bringsing *n* Cheating by moving the shooting marble slightly forward before shooting.

brush; dust To smooth or level off ground, remove obstacles from the area where the closed hand is resting to pitch or from the shooting path, especially on rough dirt or sharp gravel.

bust (E 'finish, destroy, bankrupt); **croak, croaks** (E *croak* 'die'); **strakes** To lose all your marbles to a more successful player; to win all someone's marbles.

butards, buttards, butters, buttereds (? Fr. *boutarde* 'outburst') To pay a small fee, lose a turn, or lose a marble, in order to enter or re-enter a game, usually having to add something to the ring if the marble FATS.

cannon shot A shot in which you hit two opponents' marbles due to the TAW rebounding off the first to hit the second.

chinks (TEC 'to be stingy' < E *chink* 'small piece') To move closer to the ring in exchange for losing a shot; to delay, to cheat.

cog (E 'to beat, strike) To hit a marble with the TAW.

croaks See BUST.

cup and knucks See UP ON KNUCKS.

dab See BRAPS.

digs in When one marble is pushed slightly into the ground to make a hole to make the marble difficult to dislodge.

digs out When one marble is DIGS IN and the opponent tries to hit it with his marble hard enough to dislodge it from the hole.

dirt shake; shakes Advantage asked for by a player before his turn to allow him to be awarded points even though he has missed his target, because he has struck the dirt near the target, which may cause it to shake.

dooskoo To stay in place with no option to move out of an unfavorable location See DOO-SCREW MILLION DOWN.

dust See BRUSH.

ex (E *extend, extension*); **gabs, gambi, gamby, garb, garbie** (?E *gambit*); **span, spawn** (E *span* 'hand width'); **ex-span** The distance from thumb to last (little) finger--sometimes to second (forefinger). The TAW can be advanced this distance to improve the shooting position. The thumb is used as a pivot for a circle, drawing the resulting circumference as the boundary of the EX; pitching is permitting from any point on this line.

gabs, gambi, gamby, garb See EX.

galay (?E *dally*) To "loiter" around the ring, moving to get into better position to aim at a particular target.

go down In a hole game, hole 3 is at the BOUNCE, followed by hole 2 and hole 1. Holes must be potted in order: 1-2-3-2-1-2-3. The direction of play 1-2-3 is referred to as GOING DOWN.

go up In a hole game, hole 3 is at the BOUNCE, followed by hole 2 and hole 1. Holes must be potted in order: 1-2-3-2-1-2-3. The direction of play 3-2-1 is referred to as GOING UP.

hand-dab For HAGARSEE a move in which you pick up the opponent's losing marble, which is held in one hand and hit with the TAW to LICK or DAB it away into the PISS. To do this the marble has to have ended up within a SPAN of the hole he was attempting to pot.

heads To play by standing directly over the opponent's marble and holding one's marble between thumb and forefinger, usually in front of one open eye, and dropping it on the other marble. This position may only be used if the opponent's marble is very near the player's. In some areas it is only done in deciding the player sequence at the BOUNCE before the game starts.

hit; tap To hit an opponent's marble with one's own.

kaks, caks, cax, kacks, kax, kak, cack, kack (< sound of two marbles hitting each other forcefully) *v* To give an opponent's marble a good solid hit, as in "I kaks him!" *intj* The sound of a solid hit, as in "I hit him kaks!"

king dooz Any BUTTARDS DOOZ or marble that is MATCHED.

lele, lae-lae, lay-lay (TEC *lele* 'to screw, twist, spin, swizzle') To pitch closer and closer to the ring with each turn, or to PITCH the marble with spin to make it stop where it falls.

lerkee A point received in the game of LERKEE for knocking a target out of the ring.

lick out (TEC 'to hit and break or push away') To hit or strike an opponent's marble out of the ring.

match To put one's marble near the ring and in front of a DOOZ to facilitate hitting it with the next turn. This can only be done for BUTTARDS.

plumb dab See ZOP.

pot To pitch a marble into a hole.

puks, pucks, puksay To pitch so forcefully that the hand moves forward from the spot on which one is supposed to play.

raff (TEC *raff* 'to steal, snatch, grab' < Fr. *rafler* 'sweep off, carry off') To grab all the marbles madly in a scramble.

shakes See DIRT SHAKES.

shut (? A type of hit) "Your share in the ring is three, and if you dab or shut a man, you would entitle to take out three marbles out of the ring" (Banyan, 1985).

span, spawn See EX.

strakes See BUST.

stands See UPS.

tap See HIT.

tips, tip To slightly hit a marble, to register a hit, but not disturb its position, or to slightly move the marble and carry it along with you, to continue to use each HIT or TIPS to continue your turn. At every turn you are allowed to take a SPAN from the edge of the hole or from the position of your marble when it comes to rest. You replay until you either miss or hit the marble entirely out of the ring.

up on knucks; cup and knucks Formation of the non-playing hand into a fist from which the player shoots.

ups; stands; ups-stand To stand up and pitch the marble down from the hand when you say UPS or STANDS.

zop; braps; plumb dab To hit at the end of a curved trajectory without the shooter touching the ground.

Evaluations

Baj (TEC *Baj* < *Bajan* < *Barbadian*, reputation of Bajan cricketers as accurate bowlers, thus, anyone who can hit targets well) An expert marbles player, accurate pitcher.

fowl knucks; fufu knucks Used to describe a person who holds the hand in an incorrect or awkward position while pitching.

fufu knucks See FOWL KNUCKS.

knucks in, knucks een Said when a player's aim is very accurate, as in "Yuh knucks in, boy."

knucks out Said when a player's aim is not very accurate.

Penalties

The loser in a marbles game may suffer loss or deliberate destruction of his marbles, even his taw. There may also be physical penalties. The most common is *bokee* (*bokey*, *boki*, *bokie*), also known as *bo-knucks*, *martee* (*marti*), *mataks*, *noko*, and *progo*. The winner either snaps a finger hard against the loser's fingers or knuckles, or pitches the marble against the knuckles of the loser's closed fist. *Fat pork* is a swelling resulting from receiving bokee, from the resemblance to the small fruit, *Chrysobalanus icaco*, with this common name.

When a particular game is organized, an agreement is made, or *cut for*, on what the prizes and penalties will be. The loser must *come for* the penalty and submit to it, or successfully pot the hole, at which point the penalty is said to be *cut*.

> If marbles were scarce, you could play with buttons, and your shooter of course, or play for "bokie" where you returned your winnings, but the loser would submit to placing his closed fist on the ground, knuckles down, and the winner would pitch his taw against the joints of one's fingers for five or ten or however many "bokies" were bet or "cut for."

In hole games, before the game players may *cut for hagarsee*, making an agreement about the penalty to the loser, for instance ten bokee. In another common hagarsee penalty, possibly more common in South, each winning player can take an ex from the rim of the hole nearest to the point where the loser's marble has stopped and try to hit it away from the hole, from which point the loser once more has to attempt to pot the hole. The object is to hit the loser's marble hard enough to break it, and in the case of a hand dab to make it land in the *piss*, a hole filled with mud and urine. Having endured this penalty from all the winners, the loser then can *cut hagarsee*, indicating that the penalty has been paid and the contract is now finished, by linking little fingers with an opponent and "cutting" them apart with the downward slash of an open palm (a gesture also used in adult betting).

Although some penalties carry obvious humiliation—for instance putting someone's marble *in the piss*—most involve loss of marbles, or physical blows. Such penalties are not exactly a badge of honor, in that they indicate a (temporary) lack of skill at winning. Nonetheless, the ability to withstand bokee is a source of some respect: "Yu see dese knuckles? Is bokey I stan' have dem look so" (Keens-Douglas, 1975, p. 43).

Marbles in Social Context

Cultural Influences

The immediate source of most of the marbles games and terms played in T&T is the U.K. This is hardly surprising, given the overall impact of British colonial culture on the country. It is possible that there is some French influence, through the French planters, and there appears to be some specific relationship to games from India (*lerkee*) and Africa (*zip-zap-zapat/blochay*). There was no tendency to link marbles with Chinese immigrants, although they brought or were associated with many adult gambling games. There is virtually no influence from the United States, despite the fact that most 20th century machine-made marbles probably came from the U.S.

Lexical Metaphor

Like cricket terms in British and Caribbean English, and baseball terms in the U.S., but to a much lesser extent, some marbles terms are found outside the game context. One term originally from marbles known in most varieties of English is to *knuckle down* 'to get down to work, become serious.' (To *lose one's marbles* 'to go mad, crazy' is of unclear derivation, but apparently related to the game.)

A small number of words which apparently originated in marbles are used in other contexts. *Kaks* can indicate any kind of overwhelming, quick victory, as in "I get him, cax!," "I cark him, man!" To say "Mi knucks een" (interpreted either as 'my knucks are in' or 'I am knucksing') means not only to be shooting well, but to be successful or have a run of good luck: "Mi knucks in, and ah kyaan lose

today." Similarly, someone whose knucks are often in, or who is skillful at something, can be called *baj*: "I is a baj today!" In marbles, *right through, rings, and taws* refers to claiming the right to keep anything you hit, to win everything, to overwhelmingly defeat your opponents. By extension, this can mean to do something thoroughly and forcefully, to do a proper job on, to devastate. It is often sexual in reference, as in "I move right through she, rings and taws."

A number of terms have specialized marbles meanings but appear to have come from more widespread general terms. People can *chinks* with a drink by not putting in enough rum; a thief can *raff* a chain from your neck. The *bombay* or *plumbay* usually refers to the female pubic mound. The concept of *fen* is also known otherwise in the common childhood cry of *fen-half* (or *h-half*), to reserve the right to a half share, usually of food.

Socialization

Games are widely recognized as an important way in which children learn to function in adult society. Cave (1976) has urged further study of children's games in the Caribbean in regard both to social learning—for example manipulation of subordinate and superordinate roleplaying, concepts of honesty and fair play, and resistance to adult pressure—and the learning and maintenance of linguistic skills in Guyanese Creole.

Girls and boys are generally differentially socialized into games, especially as they become somewhat older. Explanations for differences have ranged from the physical—females are too weak for sport—to the social, for instance the view that sports are for training future soldiers (Lever, 1978, p. 480). Girls are also usually expected to contribute more to household chores, particularly indoor tasks, and are supervised more closely.

Like most boys' games, marbles are played "either for the express purpose of winning property ...from a less fortunate or skilful player, or to attain individual distinction" (Gomme 1898, pp. II:460–461). Girls' games, on the other hand, tend to have less explicit goals, tend to be governed more by ritual than rules—prescriptions are minimal, disputes comparatively rare—and to focus more on turn-taking and continuous play than on winning and losing. Boys "grant much more importance to being proclaimed the winner; they virtually always structure their games ... so that the outcomes will be clear and definite" (Lever, 1978, p. 479). Sports such as cricket, baseball, and football, involving organized teams, are governed by broad sets of rules covering a wide variety of situations, both common and rare; areas of ambiguity which demand rule elaboration and adjudication are built into these games.

For boys who are serious marbles players, the skills that such play fosters are an important part of their socialization. At one level, playing marbles is a way of forming and bonding friendships based on competition, competence, and respect for physical and strategic skills. Two key features typical of boys' games in general, obvious in marbles, are: (a) a war-like nature, that is, an emphasis on loss and destruction beyond winning and losing, including punishment by the infliction of physical pain; and (b) an intricate and constantly shifting elaboration of rules (discussed above).

The war-like nature of boys' games, and the metaphorical similarity of game pieces and weapons, are striking, as in a typical baseball headline: "Glavine's bat, arm kills Cubs" (*Southern Illinoisan*, May 14, 1991). Often the objective of games is clearly stated as the destruction of the article with which the opponent plays. For example, in British conkers, played with chestnuts on a string, the losing nuts are those broken by being hit by the winners.

> The successful nut ... has the merit and glory of having destroyed previously successful nuts ...the destruction of the implements of the game ...does materially increase his importance ... especially in the days when these articles were comparatively much more expensive than now, or ... [required] the making of another implement. (Gomme, 1898, p. II:471)

An American player makes the comparison explicit.

> The stricter rules apply generally to ... shooters' or gamblers' games, that is, the circle games. In these—though one might be playing with a friend—the aim is to wipe him out, take all his marbles, drub him, defeat him, humble him, send him home without his shooter. It's war in agate, and naturally one doesn't give an inch here, a relaxation of rules there. That's not done. (Ferretti, 1973, p. 60)

Not all boys are willing to go this far, however:

> War—that's rings. I eh play that. You play that, you doh attach to anything, because as soon as you like one special marble, somebody will mash it up.

The widespread English war metaphors for argument (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 81) and sports are carried over into male-dominated arenas such as politics and business.[6] (Conversely, real wars, are spoken of in terms of games, e.g., "the game of war," and it would have been easy to confuse talk about the 1991 Persian Gulf War with talk about Nintendo.) While it is simplistic to equate training in child play as directly responsible for adult behavior, games clearly serve a socializing function. Lever (1978, p. 481) has suggested that typical boys' games may better equip males for occupational milieux that share structural features with these games, such as male-dominated, hierarchical, highly competitive bureaucracies, organizations, businesses, and armies.

Such emphasis on rules and war often leads to a highly developed code of honor:

> The ability to play within and abide by the rules was of paramount importance. If for instance the game was "pitching" or marbles, over stepping the "bounce" or "bringsing" were not allowed. The practice of "chinksing" was considered cowardice and on no account were "raffing" and "paid" permitted. In fact, the discovery of any such action led to uncontrollable anger and "heave" ['vocal encouragement to fight']. The emphasis was on fair play and the slightest deviation brought instantaneous judgment. (*Express* [Trinidad and Tobago], Aug 9, 1987, p. 6)

As Lever (1978, p. 481) points out, players in such games learn to deal with interpersonal competition in a forthright manner. Boys experience face-to-face confrontations, often opposing a close friend, and must learn to depersonalize the attack. They must practice self-control and sportsmanship. Players must learn to deal with the loss of valued possessions, either by refusing to risk, by having a fast tongue, or by learning to go away and lick their wounds and return to fight another day.

> When you play with the same people repeatedly, and lose repeatedly, the sometime humiliation of losing becomes pure shame ... But most players were not losers always ... the best players are those who can accept both good days and bad with equanimity. (Ferretti, 1973, p. 62)

The language of marbles games can also be seen within an overall pattern of gender-linked discourse. As Tannen (1990) has shown, many men engage the world

> as an individual in a hierarchical social order in which [they are] either one-up or one-down ... conversations are negotiations in which people try to achieve and maintain the upper hand if they can, and protect themselves from others' attempts to put them down and push them around. Life, then, is a contest, a struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure ... [Many women, however, approach the world] as an individual in a network of connections ... conversations are negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus. They try to protect themselves from others' attempts to push them away. Life, then, is a community, a struggle to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation. Though there are hierarchies in this world too, they are hierarchies more of friendship than of power and accomplishment. (pp. 24–25)

For girls, talking is a glue of intimacy that makes them friends. For boys, activities are more central; they play in larger, more hierarchical groups, and are "expected to use language to seize center stage by exhibiting their skill, displaying their knowledge, and challenging and resisting challenges" (Tannen, 1991, p. B3).

The Decline of Marbles

There is no question that knowledge of marbles, games, and terms in T&T, even in rural and economically poor areas, has disappeared or atrophied substantially. Traditional children's games have been in decline not only in T&T, but throughout the developed and developing world. For marbles, this phenomenon was noticeable by the early 1950s in the U.S. (e.g., Cassidy, 1958), and about a decade later in T&T. Spontaneous or highly elaborated games are rare. Such loss is ascribed to various reasons. Dickson (1988, p. 102) notes for the U.S. (also true of much of T&T):

> It was something kids did together on their way home from school ... most kids don't walk to school anymore ...Others point to affluence and the lure of electronic after-school diversions.

(However, he also mentions the "theory of a shrinking supply of essential, hard-packed dirt, succumbing to asphalt and even to grass"—not a problem in T&T.)

> What has replaced pitch? What is life in the tropics today? It is an amalgam of Reeboks and Air Nikes and Nintendo and Ninja Turtles and *high school* and *summer holidays* and the Video Soul Top 20 Countdown and Rock in America and Sony Walkmans and Go-bots. Kids don't play pitch any more. Today, it is only in St Ann's [the mental hospital] that one can be said to have lost one's marbles. No one under 30 even knows what "pitch" means. (Pires, 1991)

There are shifts in the types of games played in T&T. On the one hand, there is the increased institutionalization and inclusiveness of team sports such as cricket and small-goal football, for both boys and girls. Basketball, in particular, has been seen as an important means of organization and cohesion for lower-class black players (Mandle & Mandle, 1988). On the other hand, in the middle class there is a yearning for, if not widespread access to, computer games and designer running shoes. This orientation reflects widespread factors such as global marketing, increased affluence, and the availability of more commercial games, within a (post-) modern cultural orientation that turns from the past and is attracted to the new, the conspicuously expensive, the American, the mechanical, the manufactured, the computerized, the televised, and the tie-in.

The loss of pitch is seen by many adult men now as deprivation of an integral part of one's "boy-days," which included "tops, pelting mango, catching bird, tiefing fruit and breaking biche ['skipping school']." The socialization this entailed is recognized explicitly, as in a memoir about life in Belmont, Port of Spain: "It was a place where 'Boy Days' meant the capacity to enjoy life, where 'Boy Days' were given the credit for almost all skills acquired in later life" (Bynoe, 1985, p. vi).

Marbles, including explicitly their specialized lexicon, were seen as a concrete symbol of national cultural unity and integrity:

> When I was a boy we used to play pitch for hours under the guava tree in the Nantons' back yard. And, for all that it was played in the dirt with street rabs who came over the fence ... it was the most sophisticated game I ever played. This was a game that was not content to have only a specialised set of rules and regulations. This was a game that evolved its own vocabulary. There is—used to be—a complete lexicon around the game of pitch that is being lost. There were words—such as the inimitable *pooksay*—that existed only for and in the game of pitch. This may be a greater cultural loss than the decline of pan in Carnival ... Pitch also cut across all barriers: street rabs played against doctor's children and anywhere you went, from Carenage to Chaguanas, you could get a game of Hundred Hole or *leerkey*. (Pires, 1991)

What has happened to the verbal socialization associated with marbles remains to be investigated.

Conclusions

This paper has presented all terms associated with marbles games played in Trinidad and Tobago known to the authors. Approximately 190 are documented, compared with perhaps more than 700 for the U.S. Although many terms are synonyms and variants, it is still an impressive number. Most marble terminology in T&T is derived from British English terms, themselves often of considerable historical marbles depth; there are also indications of possible Indian and African influence. Marbles terms thus represent a significant linguistic and cultural continuity, with local terms supporting creole identity.

For (former) players, the use of the terms, particularly in contexts outside of marbles, is a powerfully affective in-group marker. The linguistic and social skills learned in their marbles playing have had an influence beyond the immediate fun of a childhood game. As an archetypal boys' game, marbles provided a context for learning "masculine" modes of skill, interaction, and discourse styles. In the contemporary era, it is not clear where such socialization has gone. Perhaps it remains the same but is attached to other activities, or perhaps it has itself shifted because of changes in childhood activities and goals of socialization.

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Notes

1. Such marbles, used from the early 1870s into the 1940s, were part of a closure device for "Codd" bottles used for carbonated beverages. Clear, azure, black, or translucent light green in color, they are distinguished by the presence of a mold mark or line around their circumference (Randall & Webb, 1988, p. 24).

2. Although most metal marbles were actual ball bearings, some hollow steel marbles, distinguished by an X where the metal was folded together to make a sphere, were produced in the early 1900s (Randall & Webb 1988, p. 30).

3. A game known in the U.K. and U.S. as *hogo* or *ship-sail* (Gomme, 1898, pp. II:191–192; Ferretti, 1973, p. 114) is sometimes classified as a marbles game, but was played in T&T, under the latter name, only with grains of corn (Inniss, 1932, p. 26). A number of marbles (or grains) is held in a closed fist by one player, who says, "Ship sail, sail fast. How many men on board?" A guess is made by his opponent; if less he has to give as many marbles as will make up the true number, if more, as many as he said over. Should the guess be correct he takes them and starts over in turn (or eats the captured grains).

4. Strategies for being wary of fens in both marbles and the rest of life were parallel: If you had cut "fen half" for example, that gave your co-cutters the right to claim half of anything nice you had to eat simply by their calling "fen half." So you had to be always on the alert, because the only way to avoid having to share your spoils was to beat them to the punch by shouting "fen-no-half!" (Araujo, 1984)

5. A tactic for which thus far a name has not been found is done for luck or to increase accuracy: "A secondary taw is kept in the other hand and rapped sharply at least twice before the shot is made, almost like chalking a cue in billiards. Some players make a noise with their mouths, like 'giddyapping' a horse—two short cheups ['suck teeth']."

6. A typical example of cut-throat business dealing with a marbles metaphor is found in a popular American novel (Resnicow, 1987, p. 178): "Aside from the honor and the glory, there could be a tremendous financial gain ... He would, of course, lose everything he had in [the company], but it might be worth it ... But how would he prove this without showing the papers that Kassel signed? We could take all his marbles for that."

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A Systems Approach to Curriculum Innovation in Intensive English Programs

Richard Young

This paper discusses curriculum innovation in college and university ESL programs, using a systems analysis approach to analyze program elements (constituencies, decision makers, purpose, measures of performance, environment, resources, subsystems, and system boundaries). The approach is exemplified by a description of curriculum innovation at the University of Pennsylvania's ESL program. Following a survey of teachers' opinions and student characteristics, the program was restructured to provide greater flexibility and adaptability, greater congruence between the aims of students and those of the curriculum, and greater agreement between student characteristics and new course offerings. The new curriculum uses a T-model design, providing a graded syllabus at six lower and intermediate levels leading to a broader curriculum of elective courses at the upper intermediate and advanced levels. Three strategies for implementing the new curriculum are discussed, and it is argued that only one, the normative-evaluative strategy involving alteration in attitudes, values, skills, and significant relations, is suitable for innovation in intensive English programs at U.S. universities. A consequence of this strategy, however, is that the new curriculum has taken longer to implement than was originally estimated. Descriptions of courses in the new curriculum, and a sample objectives-based curriculum for a course on research paper writing are appended.

Introduction

Recent discussions of curriculum innovation in English as a second language, in particular White (1988), have stressed the advantages of a systems approach to the management of English as a second language programs and in particular to innovations in curriculum design. Conceiving an English as a second language program as a system involves viewing it in Miles' definition as

> a bounded collection of interdependent parts, devoted to the accomplishment of some goal or goals with the parts maintained in a steady state in relation to each other and the environment by means of (1) standard modes of operation, and (2) feedback from the environment about the consequences of system actions. (Miles, 1964, p. 13).

This paper will apply one particular systems model—that of the *human activity system* proposed by Checkland (1979a, 1979b) to describe a typical English as second language program at a U.S. university and it will show how successful curriculum innovation involves management of complex interactions among the component parts of the system.

Checkland argues that systems analysis and, in particular, the systems diagrams that we are familiar with as flow charts which show the steps in the operation of computer programs or the organization charts which show functional relations in a bureaucracy are particularly good at showing the connections between components of human activity systems. Human activity systems, says Checkland, are wholes characterized by the connections between their component parts. These multiple connections and relationships are more easily shown in diagrams than described in prose, for a reader of a prose description has to process information serially and this places a much greater burden on memory when the description is concerned with relationships between components of a system. Systems diagrams, on the other hand, show complex relationships among components simultaneously, making the task of understanding the system considerably easier.

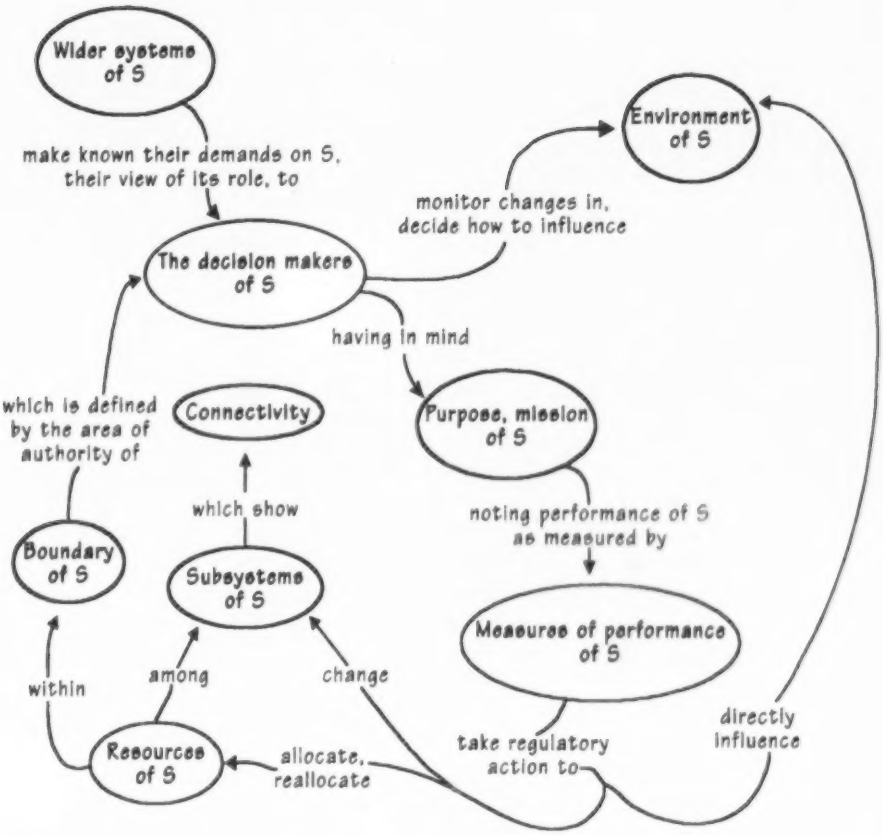
Checkland also distinguishes between, on the one hand, the *hard systems* which are most often the concern of professional systems analysts and which attempt to solve well-defined problems and, on the other hand, *soft systems* which are applied to the ill-structured problems which characterize situations perceived as problematic in the social world. One such soft systems problem is that of the design and implementation of instructional curricula and one specific application of Checkland's ideas in this area has been the program reported in Candlin (1984) for reform of the English as a foreign language curriculum in the public instructional system of the German state of Hesse.

For the purposes of this paper, I would like to borrow Checkland's generalized model of a human activity system and apply it to the task of curriculum innovation in an intensive English program at a U.S. university. The model attempts to describe in a generalized way how taking purposeful action in pursuit of a goal must take into account the system's purpose or mission, its environment, the nature of the decision-making available, and the kind of monitor and control action which is possible given the system's resources and subsystems. It should be noted that the model is a first approximation to one abstract representation of the problem. That is to say, it is one person's interpretation of a situation with which many teachers and ESL program directors are familiar. Because the model makes explicit my own interpretation of the problem, it may also serve as a basis for debate and discussion of differing interpretations of the same problem.

Components of an English Language Program

In Figure 1 each of the round boxes encloses a noun referring to a component of the system and the lines drawn between the boxes show the relationship among these nouns by means of transitive verbs, prepositions, and subordinate clauses. In this way, each pathway through the system diagram is a sentence or phrase describing the system.

Figure 1: Checkland's Human Activity System



If we replace the general nouns in this model with the particular nouns which refer to the problem of curriculum design for intensive English programs, we will have a working model of the problem at hand. The problem itself is defined explicitly in a root definition, which may be formulated as follows:

> A university ESL program (S) is a professionally-manned system concerned with the overall management of teaching English as a second language so that by this management the system may make the best possible contribution to learning on the part of students attending the program.

Checkland's model identifies nine interdependent parts of a human activity system, (S) which are identified in terms of a university ESL program as follows.

The *wider systems of S* are the stake-holders or constituencies both on-campus and off who make known their demands on the program and their view of its proper role. These include the university administration, the city or community of which the university is part, funding agencies, and students. In Checkland's model the wider systems of S are a given over which the system has no control.

The wider systems of S make known their demands on S and their view of its role to the *decision makers* of S. These actors are the individuals who articulate the mission of the program and who take responsibility for its success or failure in carrying out that mission. Depending on the management style of the program director, the group of decision makers may be limited to a few administrators or may include teachers, support staff and students as well. I will argue that successful curriculum innovation in a university ESL program involves expanding this group of decision makers to include all parties affected by the innovation.

The purpose or mission of S is a statement of why the program exists and what it hopes to achieve. Ideally, the mission of the program should parallel the mission of the university of which it is a part. If the mission of the program and the university are at odds, then conflicts are likely to arise.

The decision makers of S are also aware of the effectiveness of the system in achieving the goals stated in the mission statement through *measures of performance of S*. In practice, this measurement is often carried out by evaluation of the program by students, through faculty meetings and surveys, as well as by means of external reviews.

In Checkland's model the *environment of S* consists of those external factors which the decision makers monitor and attempt to influence. In the case of a university ESL program, such circumstances include the knowledge base of second language acquisition theory and classroom teaching practice, the market forces which determine demand for the program's services, and the administrative climate of the university. I will argue below that it is changes in the program's environment which most often lead to curriculum innovation.

While the right-hand side of Figure 1 represents the monitor and control subsystem, the lower central part of the diagram represents the operational subsystem—how, that is, the *resources of S* are allocated among the different components of S and how these components are designed and interconnected. The resources of a university ESL program are human (teaching faculty, administrative staff), financial (revenue and expenditures), and physical (buildings, classrooms, offices, and equipment).

The *subsystems of S* are the different kinds of courses offered by the program. These may be limited to an intensive English courses for non-matriculated students or may be more extensive including intensive English courses, community outreach courses, university service courses, as well as courses sponsored by external funding agencies. Clearly, the subsystems of S do not exist in isolation from one another but show *connectivity* or a network of resources shared among the different subsystems of S. In the case of a university ESL program this includes instructional materials and tests which are used on different programs, the individuals who teach on and manage several different programs, and the physical

and financial resources for which the different programs compete and to which they contribute. Such resources may be allocated and reallocated in new ways in a process of curriculum innovation.

Finally, the *boundary of the system* is defined by the area of authority of the system's decision makers, which may be defined in turn by the demands placed upon them by the wider systems. Indeed, the boundary of the system may change as a result of the success (or lack of success) that participants in the wider systems perceive the program as having in the achievement of its goals. The area of authority of a university ESL program may, for example, expand when the program takes on a greater role in determining language policy on campus, or alternatively it may shrink if one area of program activity is cut.

In summary, the systems diagram we have been using can also be seen to comprise three essential subsystems. First, the model contains a *monitor and control subsystem*, represented by the right-hand side of Figure 1. As we saw, this subsystem monitors the effectiveness of the system in achieving its goals and the goals themselves are reexamined in the light of changes in the knowledge environment. Second, in the *operational subsystem*, represented in the lower central part of Figure 1, the system's decision makers receive the information produced by the monitor and control subsystem and allocate resources in order to achieve the best possible contribution to learning on the part of students attending the program. The operations of this subsystem include establishment of different kinds of program, allocation of resources among them, and definition of connections among the different programs. Finally, what Checkland calls an *awareness subsystem* must exist in order for the decision makers to be cognizant of the relevant information inputs into the system. The awareness subsystem ensures that the decision makers are aware of relevant information regarding the views and demands of the university administration, the city or community of which the university is part, funding agencies, and students. These decision makers must also be aware of the knowledge environment, that is, both the information concerning the evaluation of their own program and also the theory and practice of similar programs at other institutions. Finally, the decision makers must also be aware of the boundary of their system as defined by their own area of authority.

The model presented here is a first approximation to the view of an English language program at a U.S. university as a bounded collection of interdependent parts, devoted to the accomplishment of a stated goal, in which the parts have fixed relations with each other and with the environment. We may find such a model useful as an overview of such a complex system, of which until now we may have only perceived parts and may have been only dimly aware of the relations among

them. The second part of this paper will describe how an understanding of this interconnectivity was the basis for a curriculum innovation at the University of Pennsylvania's English Language Programs.

Curriculum Innovation in a University ESL Program

Between 1986 and 1990 the curriculum of the University of Pennsylvania's English Language Programs (ELP) underwent extensive renewal. The motivation for this renewal came from several changes in the environment of the system, in the knowledge base, in market conditions, and in the administrative climate. Prior to 1986 the structure of the ELP was that of a pre-academic intensive English program for non-matriculated students. In addition to the intensive English program, there were a few additional programs such as a training program for international teaching assistants and a summer abroad program for undergraduates from a Japanese University.

One particular change in the environment during the period 1981–86 was the significant drop in student numbers, when it was realized that enrollments in the program were highly sensitive to the value of the dollar on international currency markets and to other vagaries of global politics such as the Iranian Revolution and the drop in the price of crude oil, over which program decision makers had no control. An awareness that an almost perfect inverse relationship existed between the value of the dollar and enrollments, and a change in the administrative climate at the university that stressed the need for responsibility-centered budgeting combined to impel the decision makers to seek alternative sources of revenue which would offset the drop in revenue in the intensive program. This was the motivation behind the drive to diversify the program offerings into other areas such as community outreach, sponsored programs, and university service work. The belief was that by spreading the risk over a number of different areas of programming the program could better withstand a hostile market environment than was possible in the early eighties when there was essentially only one operational component—the intensive program.

The result was a considerable expansion of the ELP's subsystems and a diversion of resources away from the intensive program into new programming initiatives. The program's new offerings include community outreach courses for international students, scholars, and professionals in the Philadelphia area; extensive service courses in English for academic purposes on campus in new areas such as English for dental education, for energy professionals from developing countries, and for students of architecture and city and regional planning; as well as a large number of courses for teachers, business people and professionals sponsored by external funding agencies. These new programming initiatives now account for 30% of the program's revenue.

Curriculum Innovation in the Intensive English Program

Meanwhile courses in the intensive English program continued with a curriculum which had been developed between 1979 and 1982 and was characterized by five features:

- A focus on English for academic purposes.
- A synthetic syllabus (Wilkins, 1976) in which language items were taught as discrete units, language skills were separated, and classes were graded according to a scale of assumed linguistic difficulty.
- A focus on written work rather than oral fluency which was determined by the classroom interactional styles of the predominantly Hispanic and Arabic students enrolled in the early 1980s.
- Very little possibility of individualization according to different students' needs.
- A curriculum closely linked to the teaching materials available at the time when it was developed.

The environmental changes which led to the present process of curriculum innovation occurred both in the knowledge environment and in the market environment. First, much recent scholarship in second language pedagogy and innovative work in syllabus design has challenged the idea of a discrete-point synthetic syllabus in which learners learn individual items and skills in isolation from each other (Candlin & Murphy, 1987; Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Prabhu 1987; Widdowson, 1981). This work suggested that there are other and better ways to learn a second language than by the gradual accretion of separate parts of it. In addition, the increasing focus among teachers and researchers on individual differences among language learners and the design of innovative ways of individualizing language instruction (Dickinson, 1987; Geddes & Sturtridge, 1982) was a further change in the knowledge environment which affected views of the curriculum.

Market forces were the other environmental factor which changed for the program as they did in so many other university ESL programs in the United States. From a predominantly pre-academic population of students from the Middle East and Latin America, ELP students now hail mostly from East Asia (notably Japan) and are less concerned with admission to a degree program at a university in the U.S. than they are with a direct experience of the language and culture of the United States after which they will return to continue their studies or careers in their own countries.

The process of renewal of the intensive program curriculum was initiated by a small group of teachers but from the very beginning the strategy for change involved including as many people as possible as decision makers in the system (Billmyer, Adams, Petty, & Tanner, 1988). A questionnaire was completed by 210 students enrolled in the intensive program. The survey gathered information

about student characteristics (age, gender, native language, country of origin, length of time in the English program, profession or academic discipline), their purpose for studying in the English program and their perceived language and cultural training needs. In addition, a survey of teachers' perceptions of the present program model and the written curricula for various levels of the intensive program was conducted.

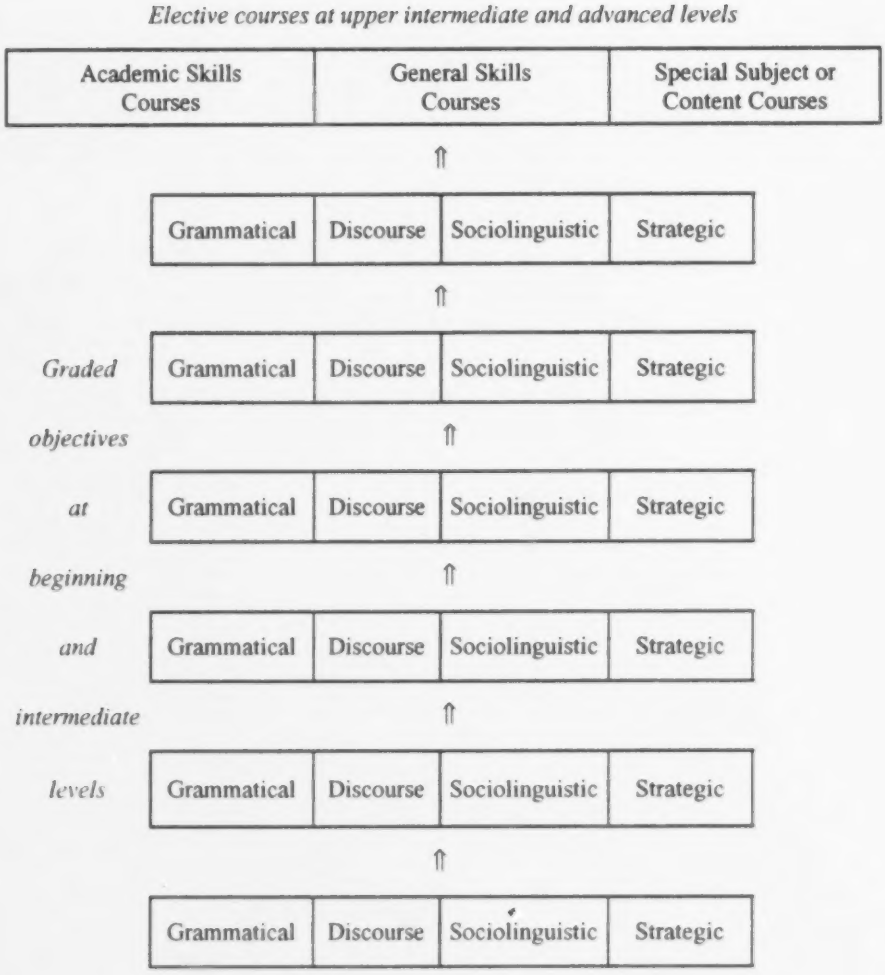
On the basis of the survey of student characteristics and teachers' opinions, as well as the changes in the environmental factors, the curriculum committee recommended a revision of the intensive program curriculum which would achieve three broad goals (Billmyer et al., 1988):

Greater Flexibility and Adaptability. It was felt that the curriculum was not capable of adapting either to a change in student needs and characteristics, nor was it able to accommodate changes in ESL pedagogy or incorporate new texts and materials with ease. The new curriculum, it was felt, should provide both the structure needed to maintain a high quality of instruction but also the flexibility to adapt to change in the future.

Greater Agreement Between the Aims of Students and the Aims of the Curriculum. The student profile conducted in 1988 revealed that the student population fell into two major categories: pre-academic and general. The existing curriculum appeared to meet the needs only of the former group, whereas the general students who did not, for example, need to learn to listen to lectures or write research papers were nonetheless being trained extensively in those skills. It was felt that the new curriculum should be flexible enough to accommodate both pre-academic and general-purpose students.

Greater Agreement Between Student Characteristics and Specific Course Offerings. The original curriculum was conceived at a time when many students entered at the absolute beginner level and stayed with the program until they reached a level of proficiency high enough for them to be admitted to university. However, the current profile of students revealed that the majority of students enrolled at the intermediate levels. The new curriculum, therefore, should offer more course options at the high intermediate to advanced levels so that students may recycle at these levels without having to repeat the same courses. In addition the greater number of East Asian students in the program in 1990 compared with the predominantly Hispanic and Arab population of 10 years earlier suggested that the old curriculum's emphasis on the development of written skills should be replaced with a greater availability of instruction aimed at developing spoken fluency.

Figure 2: The T-model Curriculum



The New Curriculum

The curriculum model which was adopted to replace the old curriculum became known as the T-model curriculum. As illustrated in Figure 2, it comprised two separate organizing principles in one, which may be visualized as the vertical and horizontal strokes of a capital letter *T*. At the lower and intermediate levels of proficiency, a graded syllabus was proposed which takes the model of communicative competence proposed by Canale and Swain (1980) as its organizing principle. In this syllabus, instructional objectives in grammatical, discourse, sociolinguistic, and strategic competence are specified at each of six levels. Achievement of specified combinations of those objectives allows students to pass

from one level to the next higher level. This part of the new curriculum is still under development and there is still some debate among the designers and the rest of the teaching staff as to whether the syllabus should be organized in the way of a traditional synthetic syllabus in which elements of the Canale and Swain communicative competence model are taught independently, or whether to go the direction of an analytic, task-based syllabus suggested by Candlin (1987) and Prabhu (1987).

The horizontal stroke of the *T* was intended for students who had achieved high intermediate or advanced proficiency, either by means of progress through the vertical stroke of the *T* or by initial placement at this level. At this level students are free to choose courses which suit their individual needs from three main areas: an area of academic skills intended to prepare those students who wish to matriculate in an American university, including such courses as *Library Research Skills*, *Writing the Research Paper*, and *Listening to Lectures and Note-taking*; an area of general language skills focusing on such topics as *Vocabulary Development*, *Advanced Grammar*, and *Conversational Strategies*; and finally an area of content-based instruction in which topics of interest are taught through the medium of English but in which the focus of instruction is knowledge or development of skills in the content area rather than knowledge of English (cf. Crandall & Tucker, 1990; Mohan, 1986; Willetts, 1986) including such topics as *English Through Computers*, *Contemporary American Literature*, and *The News in English*. See Appendix A for a full description of these and other courses.

All courses at this level are electives, and a full-time course of study consists of four courses. In specifying the content of the new courses, the designers placed an emphasis on course objectives rather than on course materials: That is to say the objectives of a course were developed first and then either new materials were written to fit the objectives or suggestions were made for adapting existing materials (cf. Madsen & Bowen, 1978; Stevick, 1971). An example of this objectives-based approach to curriculum design is the curriculum produced by Busch (1989) for a course entitled *Writing the Research Paper* included as Appendix B.

The electives level of the curriculum is now fully implemented and is proving very popular among students. The advantages of the new electives over the old lock-step curriculum is eloquently expressed in the following opinion of a former student who returned to the program to write a paper on curriculum design:

> In summer 1988, I was a student of ELP in an advanced writing and reading class. The teacher used *A Perfect Day for Bananafish* by Salinger as a textbook. We were supposed to read a new short article every week and write several papers on these articles. In the class of 20, 11 students were MBA or Master of Law candidates, 6 were university students in their own country, 2 were a sabbatical teacher, and

> I was a Master of Education candidate. First of all, the textbook which the teacher chose did not suit to MBA or Master of Law candidates. Most of them complained that they were not interested in Salinger. Second, the needs of students were very different. There were EAP and general English needs. Third, the students' proficiency varied. Some of the students started ELP several sessions ago in the level of 400 or above and they seemed to have moved to a upper class automatically. The students who were placed in the class from the session were better in English than those who had been studying.
>
> As T-model provides the students more opportunities of the class, it will not happen that the same students in my class were placed into the same class from now. T-model will help to eliminate or decrease the frustration of both students and instructors, because students can choose a writing class which meets their demands. Since I was very discouraged at the ELP's class which did not teach me what I really wanted to study, I am glad to hear the new invention, T-model (Nakanishi, 1989, p. 4)

Strategies for Implementation of the New Curriculum

No matter how well designed a new curriculum may be, there are numerous reports in the literature of failure to implement new curricula (e.g., Etherton, 1979; Mountford, 1981). Many of these failures have demonstrated the importance of good organizational management in successful innovation. Indeed, according to White, "it is effective management that provides the circumstances whereby innovation will arise, be taken up and successfully installed" (1988, p. 141). White identifies three strategies of innovation in educational systems: a power-coercive strategy, an empirical-rational strategy, and a normative-reeducative strategy. In a power-coercive strategy for innovation, decision makers of the system propose and support the innovation and it is up to those who are affected by the innovation to accept or reject it. In an empirical-rational strategy, the innovation is proposed by decision makers who believe that the innovation is desirable, effective, and in line with the self-interest of those who will be affected by it.

It is clear that both the power-coercive and empirical-rational strategies cast the actual teachers and other staff who will be affected by the innovation in the role of passive participants. In the case of a new curriculum, the design and implementation would be decided by a limited number of decision makers and communicated to the teachers, most of whom would not be involved in design decisions. In the case of the power-coercive strategy, the decision makers may be viewed as despots and in the case of the empirical-rational strategy they may be viewed as benevolent despots.

It will be clear to anyone who has worked in ESL programs in the United States that such strategies for implementation of curriculum reform are unlikely to succeed. In the U.S. educational culture, and especially in higher education, the

teaching faculty is accustomed to having a considerable voice in what they teach and how they teach it and is unlikely to accept innovations in which faculty members have not participated.

The third strategy for innovation, mentioned by White is the normative-reeducative model. This model assumes that change will involve "alteration in attitudes, values, skills and significant relationships" (White, 1988, p. 129) and, as has been demonstrated by Young and Lee (1985), without such alteration in attitudes curriculum innovations are unlikely to succeed. The normative-reeducative model involves a blurring of the distinction between change agents and those affected by the change. To recast this in terms of Checkland's model, it involves increasing participation by all parties whom the change will affect in the circle of the decision makers of the system. In the experience at the University of Pennsylvania, the process of curriculum innovation has been a success to the extent that all interested parties have been involved; there has been resistance to change only in those situations where teachers have not been significantly involved in the process of innovation.

A total of 16 elective courses were developed by 10 teachers and administrators. A model syllabus for the new courses was first developed by the members of the curriculum committee and guidelines for development of new courses were developed. Teachers were given release time from teaching to design the syllabus for one new course, which was then piloted by the same teacher and revised if necessary. The course was then taught a second time by another teacher not involved in the development, and, again, revisions were made if necessary. After a second round of revisions, the syllabus was essentially complete and the new course was offered again as necessary.

Conclusions

The designers of the new intensive program curriculum envisioned that "full implementation of the T-model curriculum will take place ... over a period of approximately two years" (Billmyer et al., 1988, p. 18). The reality has been that after several years of very hard work only the electives level has been fully implemented and work is only just now beginning on the proficiency-based courses in the vertical stroke of the *T*. The expansion of programming in other areas apart from the intensive program has meant that resources have been diverted from the curriculum development effort, and other projects have also taken up much time. The full implementation of the whole T-model curriculum (including a redesign of the testing and placement procedures) will probably take another two to three years, making four to five years' duration for the project as a whole.

This is a considerable investment of time and resources for any English language program to bear, but in the long run it is probably worth it. The involvement of most members of the teaching faculty and the administrative staff in the curriculum project gives these individuals the opportunities for personal and professional development which will benefit not only themselves but also the students who are ultimately the clients of this innovation. It is true, however, that these same individuals complain of a heavy work load and many of them look forward to a day when all these changes will be over and teaching at the program will be just another regular job.

In this paper I have argued for the value of a systems-analytic framework for viewing curriculum innovation in intensive English language programs on the grounds that such a framework makes clear the interconnections between components of a system which managers of innovation must carefully consider. In describing the renewal of the curriculum at the University of Pennsylvania's English Language Programs, I have suggested that environmental factors such as a changing knowledge base, market conditions, and administrative climate as well as measures of performance of the system such as questionnaires to students and surveys of the faculty caused the system's decision makers to initiate the process of curriculum innovation. Finally, three strategies for implementation of the curriculum innovation were discussed and I have argued that only one—the normative-evaluative strategy—is suitable for a university-based intensive English program in the United States. This paper is a report of work in progress and there is much that still needs to be done in the curriculum innovation which is still under way at the University of Pennsylvania as well as in the more general areas of curriculum design and the management of educational innovation.

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Appendix A: Elective Course Descriptions

Academic Skills Courses

Academic Writing. At the university level, students are frequently asked to demonstrate knowledge through writing. This knowledge usually is based upon reading, understanding, and integrating text from a variety of sources, and then selecting and shaping the necessary information into a clearly written and well organized paper. This course provides practice in developing these strategies. Together as a class, students will study topics from various fields of study. The title of the book used in this course is *Strictly Academic* (Currie & Cray, 1987). Students are required to take this course before taking *Writing the Research Paper*.

Writing the Research Paper. The aim of this course is to teach college-bound students the step-by-step process of writing a research paper. Students will learn to choose and narrow a topic, select relevant articles from periodical indexes, take notes, paraphrase, and synthesize information from many sources into a coherent, well-organized research paper with proper references and citations. They will also become familiar with the standardized formats for writing papers in different academic areas and demonstrate mastery of the conventions of one particular format in their final papers. Students must take *Academic Writing* before they can enroll in this course. They must also take *Library Research Skills* before or concurrent to taking *Writing the Research Paper*.

Library Research Skills. The aims of this course are to develop students' library research skills and to instruct them in computer word processing skills. Students will learn to use the reference section of the library, they will locate books and periodicals using the PennLIN computer search facility, and they will learn to evaluate the usefulness and appropriateness of various books and periodicals for their own research projects. Students will practice using computers for word processing. Classes will often be held in Van Pelt Library and in one of the Computer Labs so that students get hands-on experience using both facilities. This course meets twice a week.

Academic Speaking. The aim of this course is to develop and improve the students' ability to effectively communicate orally in the following academic settings: (a) the class discussion group, (b) the large and small lecture class, (c) oral presentations involving overhead transparencies, (d) appointments with the professor, and (e) the university department office. Students and teachers will identify common situations in each setting and teachers will assist students to develop linguistically and socially appropriate language for these strategies for these situations.

Listening to Lectures and Note-taking. The goal of this course is to develop the listening comprehension skills students need in order to understand academic lectures and the writing skills they need to take effective notes while listening to a lecture. Students will listen to lectures on topics of general interest, cross-cultural communication and language learning issues, and

on subjects related to specific academic disciplines. This course is recommended for individuals planning to attend American university courses or for individuals who want to increase their comprehension of long, connected passages of spoken English presented in typical lecture style.

Reading Academic Texts. Professors and students both agree that the ability to read is the most important skill for students at American universities. This course will help students improve their reading comprehension and study skills and introduce students to the organization of textbooks as well as the style of writing that is characteristic of them. Students will read selections from textbooks in many academic disciplines and discuss them.

The American University. This course will focus on understanding and working within the culture of the American university. The course is divided into several segments: understanding the various phases of applying to a university and the different types of schools available to students, orientation to methods of instruction and examination at the university, educational attitudes and ethics in the university setting, and ways of improving study skills. The course includes mini-lectures (taped and live) by university lecturers, observation of university classes, discussions (on topics such as grading, plagiarism, university structure, admissions, teacher/student relations) and involvement in a group research project. A further goal of the course is to aid students in formulating a personal statement that can be used in college applications. The class will integrate the use of all four skill areas—listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

General Skills Courses

Essay Writing. The aim of this course is to enable students to produce essays of various types. The course will cover basic principles of essay writing as well as prominent types of essay development, including exemplification, definition, cause/effect, comparison, classification, description, narration, and argumentation/persuasion. Within each writing task, students will learn to use correct spelling, punctuation, and grammar. The textbook is *College Writing Skills* (Langan, 1988).

Vocabulary Development. This course will increase students' knowledge of English words and idioms. Vocabulary will be classified and learned according to notions, topics, function, and use. Students will have opportunities to practice new vocabulary in ways that require them to speak, read, and write. In addition this course helps students improve upon their dictionary skills.

Advanced Grammar. This course aims to reduce grammatical mistakes often made by students at the advanced levels, and to help students learn to use grammatical structures they avoid or do not completely understand. By learning to use these structures correctly students will add variety and accuracy to their speaking and writing. Included in the content will be articles, modals, correct use of tenses, prepositions, and complex structures. A test given at the beginning of the course will determine other structures which students find difficult. Instruction will focus on students' individual grammar problems as well as grammar problems common to the whole class in both spoken and written English.

Conversational Strategies. This course aims to encourage a more spontaneous use of English in social and community settings by providing students with opportunities to interact in simulated and real conversational situations. Students will develop conversational skills and improve interactive listening through work in the following areas: conversational interaction (starting a conversation, making small talk, continuing a conversation, and closing a conversation); interactive listening (clarifying or checking understanding, giving signals of attention or misunderstanding); relevant functional language (making invitations, complimenting, apologizing, agreeing and disagreeing); and telephone conversations.

Speaking Accurately and Clearly. This course will help students improve their pronunciation and help them speak accurately and persuasively. Instruction emphasizes grammatical accuracy and precise use of vocabulary in narrating, describing, explaining, stating and supporting an opinion, hypothesizing, and expressing needs, hopes, and wishes. An important component of the course will be pronunciation and intelligibility. Students will practice the American English sound system, stress, rhythm, and intonation, and they will develop their skills in speaking clearly and expressively in dramatic monologues, plays, and poetry.

Special Subject or Content Courses

English Through Computers. This is a practical course introducing students to a number of different computer programs. Students will be given the opportunity to use IBM PCs daily to practice English language skills by completing tasks such as: playing word games as well as making their own games, practicing reading comprehension, and playing adventure games. They will also learn to create a database and use it to search for information and learn to use different software packages such as Lotus 1-2-3 to balance their monthly finances; and the desktop publishing facilities of WordPerfect 5.1 in order to produce a student newsletter.

Contemporary American Literature. The aim of this course is to help students acquire a deeper understanding of American beliefs and values through reading and discussing literature. Students in this course will read a variety of short pieces of contemporary American literature, including short stories, poetry, and plays. These readings will provide the basis for class discussions about the authors and their writings and establish a common ground for cross-cultural comparisons.

The News in English. The aim of this course is to increase the ability of students to comprehend and evaluate the news in American English. Students are exposed to all forms of the media through which the news is reported, including: television, radio, newspapers, and news-related periodicals. They will increase their vocabulary and improve their reading and listening comprehension skills in general, and more specifically, in relation to current events. Furthermore, students will become familiar with the role of the news media in American society. The course requires extensive reading, as well as viewing television news and documentaries, and listening to news broadcasts.

Listening and Speaking in Business. The purpose of this course is to increase the speaking and listening skills of business students and professionals. Students will improve their ability to use spoken English fluently, accurately, and persuasively in a number of business situations, including business case analyses, problem-solving discussions, business meetings, and differ-

ent types of public speaking. Students will increase their listening comprehension and develop business vocabularies through listening to business news broadcasts and viewing televised case studies of American corporations. From time to time articles from *The Wall Street Journal* will be read and discussed.

Appendix B: Writing the Research Paper—A Sample Objectives-based Curriculum

Aim. The aim of this course is to teach college-bound students the step-by-step process of writing a research paper. Students will learn to choose and narrow a topic, select relevant articles from periodical indexes, take notes, paraphrase, and synthesize information from many sources into a coherent, well-organized research paper with proper reference citations. They will also become familiar with the standardized formats for writing papers in different academic areas and demonstrate mastery of the conventions of one particular format in their final papers. Course prerequisites: *Academic Reading and Writing* or its equivalent and *Introduction to Library Research* (may be taken concurrently) or its equivalent.

Rationale Research paper writing is basic to teaching and learning in American universities. In order to be successful, international students must learn how to write papers which meet the expectations of university professors. However, many foreign students are not required to write research papers in their home countries, and if they are required, the format and conventions of research paper writing may be quite different. Writing a research paper requires certain skills and "tricks of the trade," which students need to learn in order to produce a paper efficiently and effectively. This course is designed to guide students through the research paper writing process so that they will have those skills when they begin studies at an American university.

Objectives and Performance Criteria

Main Goal. Students will write a five-page research paper during the course. The following objectives are suggested to help students achieve that goal. To receive credit for the course, students must demonstrate their achievement of the following objectives in the final paper. These objectives should be presented sequentially.

Skills

Objective 1. Students will choose and narrow a topic for the final research paper. *Performance criteria:* (a) Students will be able to judge whether various topics are too broad to be handled in a five-page research paper; (b) students will be able to give several suggestions for narrowing a topic; and (c) students will choose a topic for their own research papers. They will be able to determine the feasibility of a particular topic in terms of availability of materials in the library, level of English ability required to understand the readings on the topic, and their own level of interest. They will also give consideration to the appropriateness of the topic for a research paper at the college level.

Objective 2. Students will use periodical indexes to find articles on a specific topic and predict the contents of articles from the titles and other information in the periodical entries. *Performance criterion:* Students will submit a list of at least ten entries from a periodical index along with a list of their predictions about the contents of each article and a judgment as to whether the article will probably contain information relevant to their research papers.

Objective 3. Students will reassess their topics and write thesis statements and titles for research papers. *Performance criterion.* Students will write an acceptable one-sentence preliminary thesis statement that accurately describes the topic, and a title for their research papers.

Objective 4. Students will learn to document their bibliographies on index cards. *Performance criterion:* Students will document source information on cards using APA or MLA style—one card for each source—and hand in at least 10 properly formatted cards to the teacher.

Objective 5. Students will preview and scan sources for information relevant to their research paper. They will take notes on cards and paraphrase information while they are taking notes. *Performance criterion:* Students will submit five paraphrased blocks of information that will be used in their research paper.

Objective 6. Students will learn to use quotations properly. *Performance criteria:* Students will correctly punctuate and format quotations, and identify errors. They will also know the criteria that should be used for selection of quotations and how to introduce and incorporate them in the text.

Objective 7. Students will synthesize information from several sources, properly citing references in-text in order to avoid plagiarism. *Performance criteria:* Students will successfully complete an in-class exercise on the importance of research paper writing using information from three sources. (This ties in with objective 10.) They will also properly cite references in the final research paper.

Objective 8. Students will write introductions to research papers. *Performance criterion:* Students will write an acceptable introduction that includes sufficient background information, the thesis statement and a statement of purpose.

Objective 9. Students will write the preliminary and final drafts of their research papers. *Performance criteria:* The final research paper should reflect changes suggested by the teacher. It should include a title page, an outline or abstract page, the body of the paper and a reference page. It should be at least five pages long double-spaced. The student will be evaluated on a 100-point scale (100 points = near native proficiency). The student should achieve at least 80 points to satisfactorily complete the course and to be considered ready to pursue academic work in introductory, undergraduate courses in an American university.

Knowledge

In addition to mastering the steps involved in research paper writing, students also need to be given the information, presented as objectives, below.

Objective 10. Students will be given an overview of research paper writing in American universities. Topics to be covered include types of papers required in undergraduate and graduate courses, the role and purpose of research paper writing in American higher education, the format of research papers in different fields and the terminology specific to research paper writing. *Performance criteria:* Students will demonstrate their understanding of readings on the above topics by contributing to class discussions, and by doing the writing assignment outlined under objective 7.

Objective 11. Students will use sophisticated sentence structure and demonstrate the proper use of punctuation. *Performance criterion:* Students will correct and revise sentences from their own writing to create sophisticated, varied sentence structure.

Objective 12. Students will understand the concept of plagiarism. *Performance criteria:* Students will demonstrate understanding by properly documenting sources in the final paper. Optional: They may also demonstrate their understanding by completing a series of exercises on the topic.

Objective 13. Students will learn to use the proper register (formal) in research paper writing. Students will recognize and correct informal language, vague words and other stylistic errors. *Performance criterion:* Students will use appropriate register in the final research paper.